FBIS DAILY REPORT

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POLAND'S SEJM COMMITTEE ON MADRID CSCE POSITION

LD130702 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 13 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Jan (PAP)--Poland's Sejm (parliament) Foreign Relations Committee has approved the stand of the Polish delegation at the Madrid CSCE meeting as being in accordance with the line pursued by the socialist countries and interests of the Polish People's Republic.

The dominant feeling was that the international situation which has been aggravating since the start of the previous year, the interim arrest of the East-West dialogue, the increase in anti-detente and militarist tendencies in NATO countries had a considerable impact on the course and atmosphere on the Madrid meeting.

Proceeding from different concepts of detente and development of international relations the Western countries tried to impose on the socialist states a plane of confrontation.

Such attempts were opposed by the socialist countries through their consistent stand that the future of detente and further development of European cooperation depends solely on the complementation of political detente with detente in the military sphere.

An unchallenged achievement of the socialist states is the fact that to a large extent the Madrid debates were devoted to these issues which concentrated mainly on the proposals to convene an all-European conference on military detente forwarded during the meeting especially by Poland and France, the deputies said.

According to the commission the heretofore course of the Madrid meeting allows one to expect a constructive outcome of the second stage of the conference which is to tackle the forwarded proposals as well as of the final stage devoted to formulating the final document in the first days of March, 1981.

Previewing the key lines of Poland's foreign policy the M.P.s stated that the alliance and allround cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community that has guaranteed Poland's security and brought her allround political and economic benefits has always been of essential importance to People's Poland, but is assuming special significance now when our country is experiencing such a deep political and social crisis.

We are holding extremely high the understanding and support for our efforts by our closest friends and allies--the fraternal socialist countries--their conviction that the Polish nation would manage to solve the existing problems, develop the cause of the socialist renewal in accordance with Poland's most vital interests--interests of socialism and peace. This has found a firm reflection in the October visit to Moscow by PUWP First Secretary Stanislaw Kania and chairman of the Council of Ministers Jozef Pinkowski as well as in the December meeting in Moscow of top party and state activists of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The continuation of the heretofore Polish foreign policy, which served the national interests and interests of the universal cause of peace and disarmament, was recognized as the supreme task.

Finding a way out of the present political and economic crisis, stabilization of the situation and ensuring of a harmonious development of the country are vital for the consolidation of Poland's position among her allies, among other countries of Europe and the world.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN LUKANOV LEAVES FOR MOSCOW

AU121510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, left for Moscow today to attend the 98th session of the CEMA Executive Committee.

Before his departure, Andrey Lukanov received Otto Von Amerongen Wolff, president of the East European Economic Committee of the FRG and president of the Association of the German Chamber of Industry and Commerce, who is visiting our country. They discussed the state and future prospects of bilateral economic relations. It was noted that despite the complicated economic situation of the world, opportunities exist for expanding economic relations between the FRG and Bulgaria. The meeting was attended by the two countries' ambassadors.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES FRELIMO LEADER IN SOFIA

AU121357 Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Sofia, 12 Jan (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received Mr Marcelino dos Santos, member of the Standing Political Committee of the CC of the Frelimo Party, here today. The meeting with the Mozambican guest, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Mr Peko Takov, members of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and vice president of the State Council.

HIGH GROWTH OF NATIONAL INCOME REPORTED

AU131020 Sofia BTA in English 0805 GMT 13 Jan 81

[Text] Sofia, 13 Jan (BTA)--A typical feature of Bulgaria's economic development in the seventh five-year period (1976-1980) was the planned and relatively high growth of the national income. For the five years it has exceeded by more than 22 billiard leva the volume for the previous five-year period to reach in 1980 about 18.7 billiard leva (according to preliminary estimates).

The growth of the national income in the five-year period has been almost fully provided through increasing the public labour efficiency. Worth mentioning are the changes in shaping up the national income branch by branch. While at the end of the last five-year period (1975) the industry's share in its formation was 53.5 per cent, according to data for 1979 its share already amounted to 60.7 per cent. With a considerable increase of the farm produce expressed in absolute figures, the agrarian branch has decreased its percentage in forming the national income from 18.4 per cent in 1975 down to 13.9 per cent in 1979. A certain [words indistinct] with the other branches which testifies to considerable structural changes in the Bulgarian economy in favour, first of all, of industrial activities.

The national income level reached makes it possible to allot still bigger means for consumption. This is expressed in the increase of the real incomes which is also planned. In recent years the share of accumulation funds has been reduced--from 32.8 per cent in 1975 down to 24-25 per cent according to fresh data. This share provides enough possibilities to develop the material-technical base, whereby greater emphasis is being laid on reconstruction and modernization of the existing capacities on the basis of the latest techno-scientific achievements in Bulgaria and abroad.

In the next two years accumulation will make up one-fourth of the national income. This is considered optimum in the conditions of one five-year span, which combines the ambitious goals of economic development with the line towards incessant increase of the living standard of the people.

ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR TALKS

LD122152 Prague CTK in English 2100 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Prague, 12 Jan (Ceteka)--A delegation of the main political administration of the People's Armed Forces of the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) led by its head, Politburo member of the MPLA-Party of Labour Central Committee and Deputy Minister of Defence Colonel Dino Matross, arrived here Monday for a friendly visit.

The visit, taking place at the invitation of head of the main political administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army Colonel-General Antonin Brabec, is to contribute to strengthening friendly relations between the two countries and their armed forces.

ROHLICEK, DELEGATION LEAVE FOR MOSCOW CEMA TALKS

LD121958 Prague CTK in English 1719 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Prague, 12 Jan (CETEKA)--A Czechoslovak delegation, led by Deputy Premier and standing representative of Czechoslovakia in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) Rudolf Rohlicek, left here for Moscow Monday to attend the 98th session of the CMEA Executive Committee.

FURTHER COMMENT ON POLISH WORK-FREE SATURDAY ISSUE

LD122016 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] In the Polish People's Republic a further confrontation took place on Saturday between the Government of Poland and the leadership of the Solidarity unions which by unilaterally proclaiming free Saturdays endeavored to create new causes of a social crisis.

As a result of an economic analysis submitted to the working people by Poland's Government, Solidarity's appeal was in vain in many factories and plants in Poland. At offices in trade and the services sector, the employees paid no heed to the appeals of the Solidarity unions, but in many places the Solidarity unions used methods of intimidating. For example, in Warsaw's Mazowsze district people were told that if they work on Saturday they would lose their membership in the Solidarity unions. In the city of Lodz, Solidarity trade union officials tried to prevent people from going to work and tried to make them leave the plants. At the (Naftomet) works in (Grosno) Solidarity officials turned employees back at the factory gates. However, the majority of Poland's working people, imbued with a sense of civic responsibility, came to work on Saturday. Naturally the absence of part of the working people on Saturday caused considerable losses in production. These will have to be made up for. However, together with the development of industry, it will also be necessary to ensure the rapid development of agriculture.

Events on Saturday have shown that large numbers of working people in Poland are aware that the so-called uncompromising stand of some leaders of the Solidarity unions, including the free Saturday issue, is caused by the desire to create new causes of social crisis. It is a good thing that people became aware of their own responsibility in social development and that through their work they supported the endeavors of Poland's Government.

KUCERA ON CAUSES OF SOCIALIST NEGATIVE PHENOMENA

AU121344 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jan 81 p 4

[Jaroslav Kucera article: "Socialism Means Progress; The Way of Life is the Most Comprehensive Index"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpt] To Make Correct Use of Laws

If socialism has eliminated the long unstable growth of the economy, accompanied by cyclic crises, and if it has ensured higher rates of growth and the proportionate development and deployment of production forces from the viewpoint of the entire society's interests, this does not mean that the development was rectilinear and without problems. "If we stress the merits of socialism," the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session stated, "this does not mean that we may conceal and justify our own shortcomings. We have enough of them--in the quality of production, in supplies to the domestic market, and in the standard of services, and these shortcomings do not follow from objective causes alone; they follow primarily from subjective causes. That one encounters poor quality products on the market, or a shortage of commodities for the production of which we have all the prerequisites--our own raw materials, the necessary facilities, as well as qualified workers--can hardly be justified.

In certain socialist countries, from time to time there occur short-term irregularities in the growth rates of production, national income and investments. In the first half of the sixties, we encountered such phenomena in our own country also. For the last 2 years, the level of production and creation of national income has been dropping in Poland. BUT THESE PHENOMENA DO NOT FOLLOW FROM THE SUBSTANCE OF SOCIALISM, OR FROM THE NATURE OF THE ECONOMIC OR OTHER LAWS GOVERNING IT. THE CAUSES OF THESE PHENOMENA ARE, ABOVE ALL, SUBJECTIVE. The causes of negative phenomena in the development of socialism lie in the insufficiently good quality of knowledge and use of economic and other laws governing socialism in practice. They lie in deviations from the laws cited above, or else in violations and deformations of these laws.

The merits of socialism are not realized automatically, as a self-evident consequence of the operation of laws governing it. The merits of socialism not only follow from the laws governing socialism, they are also implemented through the practical application of these laws; that means through the people's activities. THE BASIC PREREQUISITE FOR REALIZATION OF THE MERITS OF SOCIALISM IS THEREFORE THE CORRECT ORIENTATION, STRUCTURE AND SUFFICIENT INTENSITY OF CONSCIOUS ACTIVITY, SUBJECTIVELY; AS WELL AS PURPOSEFUL STUDY OF THE DECISIVE MOVING FORCES OF SOCIETY, AND UTILIZATION OF THE LAWS GOVERNING THEM.

Any violation of these laws, their revision or an opportunist approach to their application, always has considerable negative consequences for socialism. For instance, the violation of basic principles of building socialism and of the laws governing it created the conditions in Czechoslovakia for the critical development of 1968-69.

KOVARIK CRITICIZES GENSCHER SECURITY STATEMENTS

AU121300 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jan 81 p 7

[Jan Kovarik commentary in the column "Note": "Forcing Open Doors"]

[Text] Bonn--The traditional meeting of the Baden-Wuerttemberg liberals in Stuttgart on 6 January was addressed by H.D. Genscher, FDP chairman and the FRG's foreign minister. [paragraph continues]

His speech on international matters, full of inconsistencies, is accordingly reflected in the headlines of West German newspapers. The GENERAL-ANZEIGER writes that he "called on Moscow to change its way of thinking"; DIE WELT says: Genscher: We want to disarm; the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG writes: Genscher urges Europeans to adopt a common security policy; and the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU writes: Genscher--there must be complementary armament.

In Stuttgart, Genscher reiterated old assertions, wrapping them in new words. He rejected the increasingly strong voices--particularly in the SPD, but also in a part of his own party--which speak against the Brussels NATO decision to deploy in Western Europe several hundred new American medium-range missiles with nuclear warheads. He "warned" against attempts to cast doubt on the correctness of this decision, because this allegedly also endangers the NATO offer to negotiate on disarmament. However, he did not cite a single example of a realistic disarmament proposal submitted by the West since the fateful Brussels decision. Even in Bonn itself, the opinion is not isolated that NATO's negotiation proposal appeared in Brussels only because Washington wanted to put a pacifier in the hands of alarmed Western Europe.

In Stuttgart, the FRG's foreign minister adopted the role of an instructor of other West European countries, as though they were incapable of assessing what is decisive and what corresponds to their interests. Indirectly, he rebuked them for insufficiently fulfilling their "duties toward the United States." As the paper UNSERE ZEIT remarked, he identified himself with the American financial demands for increased armament, regardless of the gloomy economic situation. To attribute the blame for such a new armament round to the socialist community contradicts the facts. After all, Genscher, together with Chancellor Schmidt, could convince himself last year in Moscow about the Soviet will to support peace, negotiations and disarmament. That his mission to the United States then encountered Washington's cool attitude merely documents where one must seek the reason for the unsatisfactory development of international relations. To pathetically appeal to Moscow under these conditions to "negotiate and change its way of thinking," and simultaneously to speak of the West's longing for disarmament, is the same as to force open some doors while simultaneously not noticing another door barred by an American bolt.

CATALAN REJECTION OF 'EUROCOMMUNISM' DRAWS COMMENT

AU121217 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jan 81 p 7

["(ZR)"-signed Barcelona dispatch: "They Rejected 'Eurocommunism'; New Leadership of the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia Elected"]

[Text] Barcelona, 8 January--As reported by press agencies, this Tuesday a change occurred in the leadership of the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia [PSUC]--an autonomous part of the Spanish Communist Party--toward the end of the PSUC's Fifth Congress held in Barcelona. After the resolution on rejecting the term "Eurocommunism" as a feature characterizing the party's policy was adopted on Monday by a majority of 424 votes to 359, the PSUC leadership up to that moment, headed by party Chairman Lopez Raimundo and party Secretary General Antonio Guttierez, handed in its resignation.

After this, the new PSUC Centarl Committee elected the 71-year-old Pere Ardiaca Martinez, one of the party's founders, as party chairman; and 41-year-old Francisco Frutos, member of the leadership of the "workers commissions" trade union, as party secretary general.

According to observers attending the congress, the term "Eurocommunism" was rejected mainly because it divides the international communist movement by standing in the way of the PSUC's cooperation with the French and Portuguese communist parties, and by being used by American imperialism in the fight against the socialist countries. [paragraph continues]

The so-called Eurocommunist line had been adopted by the Catalan communists under pressure from the Madrid leadership of the PCE, headed by PCE Secretary General S. Carillo, in 1978.

The congress of Catalan communists welcomed the support in solidarity granted by socialist states to the countries fighting for national independence and against imperialist oppression. It spoke in favor of abolishing American military bases in the country, and against Spain's membership in NATO and the EEC. At the final meeting, after the congress concluded, Comrade F. Frutos declared that the new Central Committee has decided to launch a mass campaign for the defense of peace and for disarmament.

The PSUC is the PCE's strongest autonomous part. In the last parliamentary elections, it received more than 15 percent of the vote in Catalonia and it is represented by eight deputies in the Madrid Parliament (the PCE is represented by 23 deputies).

[Editorial Note: Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 9 January on page 7 carries a 250-word "(ZR)"-signed commentary entitled "They Struck Out 'Eurocommunism.'" In reporting on the congress vote to drop the terms "Eurocommunism" and "Eurocommunist" from the "congress documents," and the description of the "PSUC's policy and strategic line," "(ZR)" notes that 21 delegates abstained from voting. He adds: "The reason given is that Eurocommunism does not serve the interests of the international communist movement's unity, that this term is Eurocentrist and that imperialism abuses it in the ideological offensive against the socialist countries."]

BRIEFS

CSSR-USSR GOODS EXCHANGE--In 1981, the CSSR and the USSR will exchange goods valued at R41.3 million, 38 percent more than in 1980. The USSR will supply the CSSR color television sets, radios, bicycles, watches, various types of foodstuffs "and other goods." [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jan 81 p 2 AU]

'SET OF MEASURES' SEMINAR--A seminar devoted to the "Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy After 1980" began in Bratislava on 7 January. The seminar--sponsored by the Bratislava CPSL regional committee and the cabinet of political education--is attended by more than 700 participants, consisting of students of the evening courses of the political college, CPSL propagandists and lecturers on economic policy and political economy. [Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 7 Jan 81 p 1 AU]

1980 GRAIN PRODUCTION--In 1980, the total CSSR grain production, including corn, amounted to 10.74 million tons; the average per-hectare-yield was 4.16 tons of grain. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jan 81 p 1 AU]

COAL PRODUCTION--In December 1980, the miners of the North Bohemian brown coal basin fulfilled their coal extraction plan by 109.5 percent, the Sokolov miners by 107 percent, Kladno by 101 percent and the Ostrava miners by 100 percent. Only the Prievidza miners remained slightly below their plan. In December, the coal industry as a whole fulfilled its plan by 105.6 percent, and by 98.9 percent for the whole of 1980. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jan 81 p 1 AU]

CPSU DELEGATION LED BY DOLGIKH ARRIVES ON VISIT

LD121900 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1744 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Berlin, 12 Jan (ADN)--A CPSU Central Committee delegation led by Vladimir Dolgikh, secretary of the Central Committee, arrived in the GDR today on a visit. The delegation, which has been invited by the SED Central Committee, was cordially welcomed by Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Guenter Mittag then received the guests in the SED Central Committee building. During the friendly meeting Guenter Mittag informed them of the experiences and results of party work in preparation for the 10th SED Congress. In particular he briefed them on the initiatives of the working people of the GDR in strengthening economic efficiency through greater economy in materials and energy.

Dolgikh reported on the progress of the final stage of preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress. He stressed that the broad popular discussion on the draft of "the Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the Years 1981-85 and Up To 1990" has prompted new and outstanding competition initiatives by the Soviet working people.

Also present at the meeting was Gerhard Schuerer, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, as well as SED Central Committee department heads and GDR ministers. Petr Abrasimov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, also was present.

CONTINUED REPORTAGE ON SFRY'S VRHOVEC VISIT

Meeting With Fischer

LD121902 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Berlin, 12 Jan (ADN)--GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer today received SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, Josip Vrhovec, for initial talks. The friendly meeting focused on questions of deepening relations between the two states and current problems of international security.

Immediately after the official talks began, special attention was paid to the implementation of the commitments and agreements signed during the official visit of a GDR party and state delegation led by Erich Honecker in 1977, and during the official friendship visit paid to the GDR in February 1980 by President of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, Veselin Djuranovic, the two ministers agreed that the international situation continues to be complicated and tense, and agreed that today, more than ever, intensified efforts for the protection of peace and international security must be made. The struggle for the continuation of detente, the ending of the arms race and for effective disarmament measures was of the highest importance.

Oskar Fischer and his Yugoslav guest assessed their exchange of views as a constructive step toward the further consolidation of friendly relations between the GDR and the SFRY.

Before the official negotiations began, Josip Vrhovec and his party laid a wreath at the Unter den Linden memorial to commemorate the victims of fascism and militarism.

TANJUG Report

LD122030 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1924 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Berlin, 12 Jan (TANJUG)--During the official talks between Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary of foreign affairs, and Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, which began this afternoon, views were exchanged on the development of bilateral relations and on current international questions.

Having stressed the positive development of relations between our two countries and in the wider interest of European stability and security in the spirit of Helsinki principles, Josip Vrhovec set forth in great detail the Yugoslav policy stands for the solution of international conflicts, stressing especially the new initiatives of the countries in the nonaligned movement for the elimination of focal points of crises in many areas of the world.

In this context he pointed out the significance of the forthcoming nonaligned ministerial conference in New Delhi and the new proposals by the nonaligned countries for the solution of the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran. Among other things, Vrhovec also set forth Yugoslav views and stands on the political solution of other focal points of crises in the Middle East and in Asia.

Stating that a complete and consistent implementation of the Helsinki document was necessary, Vrhovec stressed that a positive outcome of the Madrid meeting would represent an invaluable contribution to the relaxation of tension and to the strengthening of trust and cooperation between European countries. He added that this is all the more necessary due to the intensified arms race and the concentration of means of destruction on European soil. In pointing out that peace and security in the world are indivisible, the federal secretary added that a normalization of circumstances in Europe, along with cessation of the present bloc tension, would reflect positively on the relaxation of tension throughout the world.

During the talks, Vrhovec informed his hosts in Berlin in greater detail about the positive development of relations between Yugoslavia and all its neighbors. He added that there is progress in the development of relations with Bulgaria and Albania.

GDR Foreign Minister Fischer presented the attitudes of his country in relation to topical internal issues and noted the positive development of bilateral relations between the GDR and the SFRY and added that today's exchange of views confirmed the high level of friendly relations between our peoples, states and parties.

The talks between Federal Secretary Vrhovec and his associates and Minister Fischer and other GDR state and political officials continue.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Fischer gave a dinner this evening in honor of the federal secretary for foreign affairs, at which toasts were exchanged.

Fischer Dinner Speech

LD122154 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2002 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Speech by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at 12 January dinner in Berlin in honor of visiting SFRY Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec]

[Text] Berlin, 12 Jan (TANJUG)--Dear Comrade Vrhovec, dear Yugoslav comrades and friends, first permit me again to bid you a most cordial welcome to our capital Berlin and to wish you a pleasant stay in the GDR.

I can state with satisfaction that our exchange of views has graphically confirmed the high level of friendly relations achieved between our parties, states and peoples.

Allow me to recall that exactly 4 years ago today your beautiful country was visited by a GDR party and state delegation led by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. Into the results of the important official talks between Erich Honecker and for us the unforgettable Comrade Josip Broz Tito there is embedded even more the foundation which is the basis for our comprehensively developed relations.

I am convinced that you, too, are of the opinion that this established the principles which provide the direction and the orientation to further enhancement of our friendly cooperation. We can state with satisfaction that we are making good progress in the implementation of the conclusions then adopted.

In so doing, day after day in all areas we feel the mobilizing force of our parties, the SED and the LCY, and their friendly constructive cooperation. Economic, scientific and technical cooperation has attained particular weight: mutual commodity exchange has attained a noteworthy growth and doubled in the period 1976-80 in comparison with the previous 5-year plan period.

For the next 5-year period we wish to and can set ourselves high goals for mutual benefit. Dear Comrade Vrhovec, all people who nurture sincere wishes and all politicians aware of their responsibility are today unanimous in the view that the maintenance and consolidation of peace have become a vital question of mankind.

This is confirmed also by the fact that the international situation, because of the transition of imperialism from detente to a policy of confrontation, and because of the high level of NATO armament, has become more complex and more dangerous.

The Warsaw Pact member countries proposed a constructive and long-term program with the declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of May last year which was convincingly confirmed by the leading representatives of the Warsaw defense alliance of 5 December in Moscow. They issued an appeal for close and efficient cooperation of all progressive and democratic anti-imperialist forces for peace and disarmament, above all in the nuclear sphere and for detente and equitable cooperation. The appeal for the further strengthening of solidarity of peoples in the struggle against the danger of war, for increasing vigilance against aggressive claims of imperialist forces, against the attempt of reaction to weaken the position of the socialist states, developing countries and the movement for national liberation, is growing in weight. Recently this also applies to the realization of measures for military detente and reducing the level of military confrontation on the European Continent. The conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, on the convening of and preparations for which consensus should be reached by signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act at the meeting in Madrid, would represent encouragement for all peace-loving states.

We remember well Comrade Tito's words during his stay in Berlin in 1976 when he said that "All socialist countries and communist parties of Europe bear a great responsibility for peace and security, for further positive development in Europe."

As regards the GDR, it is unswervingly guided by this responsibility. This stems above all from its position on the dividing line between socialism and imperialism, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. We have been and will remain of the firm conviction consistent to our struggle that never again must a war emanate from German soil.

The sixth summit of the nonaligned countries, among which the SFRY occupies a significant place, again confirmed that this movement is an important factor in the struggle for peace and international security, for the democratic reorientation of the entire system of international relations. Allow me to stress again in this connection the task which, in our view, is urgent and even of vital significance, that is, that all progressive forces of the world should unite with the aim which is decisive for all mankind--the preservation and strengthening of peace and progress in the world.

Dear Comrade Vrhovec, only a few months separate us from the 10th SED Congress which will set us communists and all working people of our country greater new tasks for the further construction of the developed socialist society in the GDR. With unprecedented results in socialist competition in honor of the party congress, our people are getting ready for this important event in the life of our nation.

We follow the struggle of the Yugoslav communists and of all working people of Socialist Yugoslavia in the implementation of the tasks set by the 11th LCY Congress with attention and sincere joy. Important progress has already been attained and the solution of other tasks is to come. We wish you much success in the future with a firm conviction that friendly relations between our parties, states and peoples will continue constantly to develop further and deepen on the already tested foundations of full trust.

Now, esteemed comrades, please raise your glasses with me to toast the friendship and cooperation between the SED and the LCY, between our states and peoples, to the health of our distinguished leaders, to new successes in the struggle to ensure peace, to socialism and communism, to your health dear Comrade Vrhovec, and to the health of all present Yugoslav comrades and friends.

Vrhovec Dinner Speech

LD122208 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2002 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Speech by SFRY Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec at 12 January dinner in Berlin attended by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer]

[Text] Berlin, 12 Jan (TANJUG)--Esteemed Comrade Minister, permit me, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, cordially to thank you for the warm welcome and friendly words which you have addressed to us here.

Our visit to the GDR represents a fresh confirmation of the successful development of friendly relations between our two countries, to which basic and lasting orientation was given by President Tito and Comrade Honecker.

As is known, we base these relations on full respect for the principle of independence, equality and noninterference, which strengthen our conviction that during the forthcoming period we will mark new successes in their development in the sphere of political, economic, scientific, cultural and other cooperation.

Such a development of mutual relations is in the interests of the peoples of our two countries and (?their) further reciprocal understanding and consolidation of friendship. At the same time, we believe these relations to be in the wider interest of European stability and security in the spirit of the Helsinki principles.

The consistent and comprehensive implementation of the Helsinki Final Act represents a realistic basis for relaxation of tension, strengthening of confidence and for cooperation of European countries. A successful continuation of the Madrid meeting and its positive outcome would no doubt represent an invaluable contribution to the implementation of these objectives, particularly since we are witnessing an intensified armament race and dangerous concentration of the means of destruction in Europe. All this is increasing bloc tension and threatens peace on our continent. We are firmly convinced that the normalization of circumstances in Europe would reflect very favorably on the relaxation of tension in the whole world, because peace and security of the international community are indivisible. This fact is all the more important as we are confronted today with increasingly frequent and dangerous phenomena of armed conflicts and bloc rivalries, with interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, with interventions and use of force in international relations. This causes us great concern because along with the existing hotbeds, fresh hotbeds of crisis are created and fresh threats to peace are emerging.

The instability of the world is deepening also through the further exacerbation of the contradictions of inequitable international economic relations. What worries us particularly is the absence of political will to resolve them. Unfortunately, the desire to preserve old privileges outweigh the understanding of mankind's vital interests in order to start the realization of a new international economic order. In our conviction, the international problems which are at stake are of such magnitude that they demand the full involvement of the entire international community in resolving them. This calls for strict respect of the principles of peaceful coexistence among all states, regardless of their sociopolitical order, and in this context the role of the United Nations is showing itself to be very significant. It is in this direction that the activity of the policy and of the movement of nonaligned countries, of which President Tito was one of the founders, is orientated on a lasting basis. I would particularly like to stress that nonalignment is a complete and lasting orientation of Yugoslav foreign policy and its contribution to the struggle to build a better and more just world in which peoples and countries will have the opportunity to ensure their well-being and social progress.

By proceeding from such principles, Yugoslavia has been extending full support to the most progressive ideals and aspirations of mankind as well as to call the peoples and national liberation movements which are fighting for their freedom.

The principles of nonalignment also determine the Yugoslav efforts to ensure that such European relations extend to the peoples of our continent, which was twice gripped by the horrors of a world war, the opportunity to live in security and peace so that they might devote themselves to the building of their own future.

We believe, esteemed Mr Minister, that these are the aspirations which deeply preoccupy the peoples of our countries because they see them as the guarantee for the full success of the efforts which they are making in order that they might construct socialism in their countries.

All this provides us with incentives to further strengthen our cooperation in every sphere for which, undoubtedly, real needs and broad possibilities exist. After all, we have pointed out in our talks to the very successful development of our relations and to our readiness to further expand them.

In this conviction, allow me to raise my glass to the honor of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, your health and the health of your associates, to the all-round progress of the friendly GDR, to the strengthening of friendship between our peoples and countries.

FISCHER, OLESEN SPEAK AT COPENHAGEN DINNER

LD072246 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2112 GMT 7 Jan 81

[Text] Copenhagen, 7 Jan (ADN)--Denmark's Foreign Minister Kjeld Olesen gave a dinner at the Moltkes Palace in Copenhagen tonight in honor of GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. In toasts both politicians stated their satisfaction that the talks so far have been open, constructive and useful. Precisely because of the present international tension it is of utmost importance to maintain a dialogue between states.

The Danish Government, Kjeld Olesen said, in its relations with other countries and in deciding its position in international critical situations attaches decisive importance to the principles enshrined in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. The generally recognized principles contained therein are the condition for the continuation of the process of detente between East and West. Denmark is striving for a balanced result to be achieved in the negotiations at the Madrid meeting.

Kjeld Olesen went on to say that his country will continue to back the SALT process and work toward the maximum reduction of strategic weapons. Possibilities exist for the development of economic and cultural relations with the GDR. Speaking in the name of the Danish Government he expressed gratitude for the GDR decision to hand over the literary remains of the Danish writer Martin Andersen Nexo to Denmark. "My government values the decision as further testimony of the endeavor to develop relations between our two countries."

In his response Oskar Fischer said that by this meeting both sides have "lived up to an urgent requirement of our time." Peace demands encouraging deeds and this is of special importance in view of the growing threat to detente and hence to peace. "The present time gives cause for serious concern. It requires concerted efforts by all states and peoples to return developments to a correct course," the foreign minister said. The GDR is doing everything within its power so that a war should never again emanate from German soil.

Oskar Fischer noted with satisfaction that relations between the GDR and Denmark are developing systematically and are not burdened by obstacles. "The principles of peaceful coexistence, as anchored in the Helsinki Final Act, have been proved as a tangible foundation precisely in an international situation which has become more complicated.

This is natural since we respect each other as we are, no one tells the other what to do, no one denies the sovereignty and responsibility of the other. Thus, and in no other way, confidence is consolidated into advantageous, peaceful and good-neighborly cooperation. History judges all of us by our deeds and not by words," Oskar Fischer said.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND ON GDR CITIZENSHIP ISSUE

LD091100 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0810 GMT 9 Jan 81

[Text] Berlin, 9 Jan (ADN)--Today's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND carries the following article under the headline "Thinking and Acting in Accordance With Reality."

Observers of the Federal German scene note nowadays that there is increasing discussion in public life on a question which does not even exist according to official views in Bonn: GDR citizenship. The latest impetus was provided by Uwe Ronneburger, vice chairman of the FDP and Bundestag deputy, when he said on Saarlaendischer Rundfunk GDR citizenship is a reality. He added by signing the basic treaty in 1972 Bonn recognizing the GDR as a separate state. In the same broadcast the Heidelberg state and international law expert, Professor Doehring, said "as a state under international law the GDR also has its citizens."

These statements which brought upon Ronneburger in particular, attacks from the ranks of the coalition and also the opposition, clearly hit the weak spot of Bonn's policy. Clearly these remarks hit home at those who, notwithstanding the system of European treaties created during the last decade and the Helsinki Final Act adopted by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, maintain the fiction on the "existence of a German Reich within the 1937 borders." Be this as it may, the discussion in the Bundestag parties on GDR citizenship continues. It is to be hoped that reason will ultimately prevail over the wishful thinking of those who are not prepared to think and act in accordance with reality.

The discussion unleashed among the FRG public in connection with the utterances of the FRG politician Ronneburger is a hopeful signal for all those who are optimistic about the positive development of relations between the GDR and the FRG. One would like to see it as a sign that there is no small number of those people in the FRG who are reaching the conclusion that respect of GDR citizenship is an important contribution to the further normalization of relations between the two German states and to the continuation of the process of detente in Europe. In this context, the relevant resolutions of the young socialists and young democrats in the FRG are gaining increasing significance.

But, meanwhile, it is impossible to overlook that the responsible circles in the FRG, contrary to international law, persist in their refusal to respect GDR citizenship and to take account of its personal jurisdiction. There are two sovereign, mutually independent, German states. The FRG must, therefore, at long last come to terms with reality on the question of GDR citizenship, it will have to do so in the end. This would have a useful impact on bilateral relations as well as for peace, security and detente in Europe. This fundamental trend of thought likewise determined Erich Honecker's statement in his Gera speech on topical questions of our domestic and foreign policy.

Last but not least, under the basic treaty between the GDR and the FRG both states committed themselves to the "unrestricted respect of their territorial integrity" and to respecting "the independence and autonomy of each of the two states in their domestic and foreign affairs." The treaty stipulates "that neither of the two states may represent the other internationally or act on its behalf" and that "the sovereign authority of each of the two states is confined to its territory."

Since the GDR and the FRG have thus recognized each other as subjects of international law with all relevant jurisdiction, what matters now is that Bonn, too, should draw its conclusions from this.

Since this state of affairs is regarded as absolutely normal in intercourse between all UN member states the FRG, too, should now look to the future with great equanimity and courage and should not find it difficult to remove obstacles which it has itself erected.

HONECKER CONGRATULATES ALBANIA'S HAXHI LLESHI

AU121700 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Jan 81 p 2

[Text] Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, has conveyed the following congratulatory telegram to Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania: On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the proclamation of the people's republic I convey best greetings and congratulations to the Albanian people on behalf of the GDR people."

HONECKER GREETS NEW PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER

LD092202 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1707 GMT 9 Jan 81

[Text] Berlin, 9 Jan (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, has conveyed to Francisco Pinto Balsemao, prime minister of the Portuguese Republic, a congratulatory telegram on his appointment.

The telegram expresses the conviction that the further development of mutually beneficial relations between the GDR and Portugal corresponds to the interests of the two states and peoples and contributes toward consolidating peace and the process of detente in Europe.

NATIONAL FRONT GREETS LAO LEADER ON NATIONAL DAY

BK081258 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0000 GMT 8 Jan 81

[Greetings Message from Erich Correns, president of the GDR Council of National Front, to Souphanouvong, president of state and president of the LFNC, on the occasion of Lao national day--date not given]

[Text] To Your Excellency Souphanouvong, president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] and president of the Lao Front for National Construction (LFNC], Vientiane:

Respected Mr President, on the occasion of the fifth founding anniversary of the LPDR, I am especially happy to convey the warmest congratulations of the GDR National Council of the National Front as well as my personal tribute to your excellency, and through you to the Lao people.

Under the clear-sighted and wise leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP], the forces under the LFNC have scored many new achievements by overcoming all the vestiges of oppression within the country as well as the exploitation and aggressive war of the imperialists. They have assisted one another in building the foundation for the socialist order.

We have followed with great joy and satisfaction in the Lao people's great tasks of national construction, and have made noble contributions together with other socialist states in assisting Laos in this direction. We pledge that the GDR National Front will do everything within its power to further strengthen and deepen the time-honored friendship and fraternal cooperation between our two peoples and states.

Mr President, once again I would like to retierate our resolute solidarity with the Lao people's struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. On behalf of all social forces under the GDR National Front, I wish you new successes. I extend to your excellency my best wishes for good health and happiness.

With warm regards and solidarity.

[Signed] Professor Erich Correns

HONECKER, OFFICIALS ATTEND DIPLOMATIC GATHERING

LD121512 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1034 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Berlin, 12 Jan (ADN)--The heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the GDR conveyed New Year's greetings to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council, on Monday. At the official seat of the GDR State Council on the Marx-Engels-Platz in Berlin, Erich Honecker welcomed the diplomats in whose name Petr Abrasimov, doyen of the diplomatic corps, conveyed greetings and best wishes and hoped that the GDR people would attain further successes for peace and socialism. Other GDR representatives were also present at the tradional New Year's reception at which Erich Honecker addressed a speech of thanks to the diplomats.

The diplomatic corps reception at the official seat of the State Council was attended by the following members and candidate members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee: Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Kurt Hager, Guenter Mittag, Harry Tisch, Paul Verner and Margarete Mueller. Members of the GDR State Council.

Further deputy chairmen of the GDR State Council, Manfred Gerlach, Gerald Goetting and Ernst Goldenbaum, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; Heinz Eichler, secretary of the State Council; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Bernhard Neugebauer and Dr Klaus Willerding as well as the general secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Alfred B. Neumann, were also present.

At the reception the GDR representatives had friendly talks with the heads of the missions.

Honecker New Year Address

LD122126 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 12 Jan 81

[12 January New Year address to diplomatic corps at Berlin reception by Erich Honecker, GDR Council of State chairman--recorded]

[Text] Ambassadors and charges d'affaires, dear friends and comrades:

I thank you, Comrade Doyen, and all members of the diplomatic corps very cordially for your greetings and good wishes on the New Year to the people of the GDR and its leaders. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German at 1833 GMT on 12 January broadcasting excerpts from the Honecker speech adds here: "The hopes linked by the peoples with the New Year apply particularly to preserving and safeguarding world peace. This is the most important precondition for their happiness and prosperity."] We note with satisfaction that the longest period of peace this century continued last year in Europe. That is an encouraging fact. Unfortunately the overall world situation has developed less positively. It has been exacerbated and carries fresh, serious dangers to peace. [The television version adds here: "It is with concern that the German Democratic Republic observes efforts aimed at a transition from detente to confrontation. The detente process which continues to determine the basic trend of international development is thereby exposed to grave burdens. This can only be harmful to the peace interests of all peoples and, therefore, must not be tolerated. The German Democratic Republic is firmly determined to make its contribution toward complementing political detente with military detente. It has repeatedly reaffirmed this side by side with the Soviet Union and the other states of its alliance.

We believe that there is no kind of weapon on whose limitation understanding could not be reached, provided these matters are tackled on the basis of mutuality and strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security."] It is more urgent than ever to add military detente to political detente. The peoples are longing for progress in this field and understand its crucial importance for securing peace.

In order to achieve such progress, the Warsaw Pact states have submitted a constructive and realistic program. This program is still highly topical and enjoys the GDR's wholehearted support. When speaking of arms limitation and disarmament, one cannot, in our view, ignore the importance attached to ratification of the SALT II treaty concluded by the USSR and the United States. It would facilitate agreements to limit the nuclear arms race in Europe. [The television version omits the preceding six sentences.] We believe it is a profoundly humanist task for all politicians to help lessen military confrontation in Europe. Tensions and detente on our continent have an impact far beyond its borders. That is why the GDR emphatically wants the Madrid meeting and the Vienna negotiations to be used in the spirit of genuine progress towards military detente. We hope that commonsense and a sense of responsibility will prevail at these conferences. A mandate to call a European conference on military detente and disarmament would be a signal.

The GDR is situated at the dividing line between the socialist and capitalist systems, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in central Europe. From that flows a great responsibility for maintaining and strengthening peace. We are at all times aware of this. We have always pursued a policy of peaceful coexistence and will continue to do so. We regard it as a moral obligation since two devastating world wars have started from German soil. It must not happen a third time. [The television version adds the following passage: "Ladies and gentlemen, being the ambassador of your states you are called upon to cooperate in the development of (?flourishing) relations and thus, at the same time, in the noble task of safeguarding peace. In this respect I assure you of the most express support by, and sympathy of, the German Democratic Republic."] At the threshold of 1981 we justifiably note that 1980 was a good year for the people of the GDR. With every passing day our people feel more clearly that good work is worthwhile and that the unity of our social and economic policy is bearing fruit. [The television version adds here: "It is the objective of the GDR's foreign policy to make possible the most favorable external conditions for the building work of its people. It is persistent peace policy which includes everything that is necessary for protecting socialism. Thereby we simultaneously do our service to the peaceful interests of all peoples."] In April the 10th SED Congress will comprehensively discuss the tasks ahead and make its decisions. The GDR citizens are eagerly preparing for this important event. The relationship of close trust between party and people gives rise to impressive feats for the good of our socialist fatherland as well as of each individual. We will rely on this great source of common strength in our plans for the years ahead.

Comrade Doyen, ambassadors and charges d'affaires, dear comrades and friends, I beg you to convey to your heads of state, governments and peoples on the occasion of the new year my best greetings and wishes. I wish a healthy and successful 1981 to you, ambassadors and charges d'affaires, comrades and friends, and your families. [The television version omits the preceding paragraph]

NEW OFFICERS SCHOOL PROGRAMS ANNOUNCED, EXPLAINED

AU121705 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Jan 81 p 13

[ND report: "Officer With a Degree After 4 Years"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)--As of 1983 officers school graduates will receive, along with their appointments as lieutenant, the degree of an engineer of a special discipline or of an economist after completing 4 years of studies. Professional officer candidates who have attended a polytechnical secondary school and skilled workers training without graduation will be called up like the graduates of expanded secondary schools or like skilled workers into the pertinent officers school. They will acquire their college qualification in a 1-year course before starting their studies.

HERRMANN ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS; HEINRICH ELECTED

LD091407 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 9 Jan 81

[Text] Eberhard Heinrich, candidate member of the SED Central Committee, was today elected unanimously chairman of the GDR Association of Journalists. The Association of Journalists Central Executive expressed recognition and gratitude to the resigning chairman, Harri Czepuk, who was released from this office at his own request for reasons of health. The participants at the meeting discussed the growing demands placed on the work of journalists in preparing the 10th SED Congress.

At the beginning, Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, in reviewing the 13th plenary session, dealt with topical questions of domestic and foreign policy.

BRIEFS

SOLIDARITY SHIPMENT TO SRV--The GDR's first solidarity goods in the new year have been received by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The solidarity committee announced today that the motor vessel Breitscheid arrived at Haiphong port with a large cargo. The shipment, which has been financed by donations, includes teaching aids, foodstuffs, textiles, medicines and construction materials. In 1980 the friendly peoples in Southeast Asia received a considerable portion of the solidarity benefits provided by the GDR working people. In Vietnam, experts helped in the further reconstruction of the town of Vinh and in the further improvement of the Vietnam-GDR friendship hospital. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1202 GMT 2 Jan 81 DW]

AID TO KAMPUCHEA--The Eilenburg 8,500 ton freighter is currently being loaded at Rostock port with solidarity goods for the People's Republic of Kampuchea. They include among others "W-50" trucks, textbooks, foodstuffs, household goods and bicycles. The Eilenburg is the third GDR ship within a few months to take solidarity goods to the Kampuchean port of Kompong Som. The freighter, which carries out regular shipping service to Vietnam, will also carry industrial equipment and building materials for the city of Vinh and trade commodities for other countries. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 81 p 1 AU]

ENERGY SAVING, RAILWAY ELECTRIFICATION--Minister for Transportation Otto Arndt stated on 8 January in a radio interview that energy, particularly diesel fuel, must be saved through more railway transportation and fewer highway transports deliveries. Electrification of the railway network is one of the planned measures. By 1985 more than 700 kilometers of the railway network will be electrified. Connections from Halle and Dresden to Berlin will be electrified first and then the line will be continued to Rostock port. Minister Arndt pointed out that the economically necessary energy saving measures will not handicap travel or commuter transportation. [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 8 Jan 81 DW]

POLITYKA COMMENTATOR INTERVIEWED ON POLISH REFORMS

LD092354 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2120 GMT 9 Jan 81

[Interview with Aleksandr Paszynski, economic policy commentator of the Warsaw POLITYKA, by Budapest Radio's Warsaw correspondent Szabolics Szilagyi, time and place not given; Paszynski remarks in Polish fading into superimposed Hungarian translation throughout--live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] The present serious situation of the Polish economy was brought about by mistaken methods and wrong economic practices. At present both a major and a minor economic reform are under preparation.

[Answer] The minor reform came into force a few days ago and in my view this is the first step in reforming Polish economic management. I would not like to underestimate its significance. Its main virtue is that it reduces those plan targets formerly obligatory for the enterprises. However, it does no more than that. In my opinion, the work of preparation for the so-called major reform is much more significant. I hope that the guidelines of this reform will be published in a few days. This will be a tremendous step, one that will surprise many outside observers. This will go further than even the Hungarian reform. Naturally, this follows from a particular economic and political situation, the one in which Poland finds itself today. The economic situation is influenced by the extent of our difficulties and the political circumstances by those new forces which must today be taken into consideration when making economic decisions.

This is a more far-reaching step than the Hungarian reform partly because it aims at, particularly, enterprise management, self-management. It is as if we were combining the Hungarian and the Yugoslav solutions. More precisely, I would say the economy's system will approximate the Hungarian system, while the method of enterprise management will approximate the Yugoslav method. The most important task will be the creation of complete enterprise independence and the creation of social control over the enterprises.

[Question] How would you characterize the minor reform? What is its purpose?

[Answer] The purpose of the minor reform is to reduce those restrictions which are hindering the Polish economy. Another of its goals is to prepare the productive units for the deep water which they will enter in a year or two, at the beginning of the major reform. Briefly speaking, a period has arrived during which the organs of workers' self-management, and the management of the enterprises, trusts and federations, will learn independence. I am convinced that this is the greatest value of this minor reform: It provides preparation, an indication of what will happen within the enterprises in the future. We shall see whether our corps of specialists, which for 36 years was nourished by higher orders, will be able to prepare itself for independence. That system of centralization lived longest here in Poland.

Let us, however, take a closer look at what this minor reform actually amounts to. There will be significant reductions in the number of central instructions. In other words, the guiding organs will exercise direct control over only the most important factors such as exports, production to meet domestic demand and priority investment projects. I think we shall now make a start on teaching people new ways of thinking about enterprise management. The Polish economy is damaged not only by the zloty being a nonconvertible currency but also by the misfortune that the zloty fulfills at least 10 different functions. Formerly there were differing limits for investments, for reconstruction projects and so on. In other words, these sums were determined from above and separately from each other. The greatest virtue of the minor reform is that it will do away with this separation.

We must bring about a situation in which the enterprises are free to dispose of the specific financial funds: This will also be true of the wages fund. Consequently no one will prescribe the extent of employment, the numbers to be employed.

Let me stress: The minor reform does not provide complete independence yet. Nonetheless, it provides a much greater degree of freedom in many sectors. What is more, it will force the enterprises in January and February this year to adjust their plans to the new principles. There will be, for the first time, a confrontation between the plan developed by the state planning authorities, with customary methods, and the suggestions coming from below, from the enterprises. Well, we shall see what this contact will give rise to.

[Question] Thus we can regard this minor reform as an organic part of the comprehensive economic renewal, its first step.

[Answer] Yes, I think I can state quite unequivocally that the minor reform is the first step leading to the major reform, even though this major, comprehensive reform will change certain elements of the previous reform. There is now debate in Poland on whether to regard this minor reform as a big or a small step. One thing is quite clear: This is a step forward. As regards the deadline, the minor reform applies to the whole of the current year. The major reform must be prepared this year. Whether it can be introduced in its entirety in 1982 is something that I cannot tell yet.

The debates are lively because a great deal depends on these solutions. Even the most daring advocates say that the way to prevent the failure of the major reform is not to introduce it before restoring complete economic equilibrium. Consequently, we must first create order in the economic situation and only then bring about complete enterprise independence. There are also those who oppose these views. I myself belong to this second camp. Quite simply, in my view we do not have as much time as the Hungarian economy enjoyed when it was able to prepare for its reform amidst calm, settled circumstances. This is the first factor. Secondly, I do not believe that we can be successful in bringing about equilibrium under our present circumstances. To put this differently: There are a great many negative economic phenomena which are the consequence of the present system of economic management; we cannot expect this sick economy system to recover on its own. Thus, I believe that the introduction of an economic reform at a time of disequilibrium involves a considerable risk: Nonetheless, this is a risk which we must accept. The major reform is consequently likely to be introduced in 1982.

[Question] It is easy to say now that everything that has so far happened in the Polish economy is wrong and everything must be started anew. Is this really true or are there values in the old economic system which must be preserved in the future as well?

[Answer] We have a tendency to complain, as well as to give sensationalist evaluations. This is particularly true of us journalists. This is part of our profession. However, there is certainly no question that Poland is today a completely different country from what it was 35 years ago. We have material and even more impressive spiritual achievements. Of course, I think our greatest tragedy is not that the predicament of our economy is so bad today but rather that Poland has lost so many opportunities. Poland was the first among the socialist countries to plan economic reform in 1956. Then we had much better possibilities for this than the other socialist countries. The first outlines for Polish reform came about, but then, unfortunately, this intellectual wealth was dissipated for a number of reasons, including political reasons. Now we are returning to these experiences, the experiences of the first half of the 1960's and particularly the first years of the 1970's.

In my opinion, the fundamental question is whether the political leadership will have the courage to take the lead among the adherents of reform; in other words, to oppose the perhaps natural resistance which can be manifested by those whom the reform will not favor. I am thinking here of the central administrative apparatus. We, in the editorial offices of POLITYKA, consider that as the first condition for the introduction of the reform, a decision must be made on the abolition of certain trusts and ministries. These have assumed a tremendous size in Poland. I think that this is something that will be considered in the course of the preparation for the extraordinary congress and that the congress itself will adopt a position on this very important issue. I am optimistic.

APRO RETURNS HOME FROM GDR COOPERATION TALKS

LD122000 Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Budapest, 12 Jan (MTI)--President Antal Apro of the Hungarian National Assembly Monday returned to Budapest from the German Democratic Republic where he paid a visit at the invitation of Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber. The talks concerned questions of boosting cooperation between the two legislative bodies.

GYENES, MSZMP DELEGATION DEPART FOR STOCKHOLM

LD122030 Budapest MTI in English 1018 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Helsinki, 11 Jan (MTI)--The Hungarian party delegation, which paid a visit to Helsinki under the leadership of Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, left for a few days' visit to Stockholm on January 11 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Swedish Left Party-Communists.

LEADERS SEND ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS TO COUNTERPARTS

Cable to Burmese

LD031916 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 3 Jan 81

[Text] Budapest, 3 Jan (MTI)--Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, cabled their good wishes to President U Ne Win and Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha of the Burmese Union Socialist Republic on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of the country's winning independence.

Cable to Heng Samrin

LD061942 Budapest MTI in English 1748 GMT 6 Jan 81

[Text] Budapest, 6 Jan (MTI)--On the occasion of the second anniversary of the victory by the Kampuchean patriotic forces over the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan group Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, greeted in a cable Heng Samrin, president of the National Unity Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council.

The National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, the Hungarian Peace Council and the Hungarian Solidarity Committee also greeted their partner organizations on the anniversary.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO PERU--Dr Vilmos Meruk, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic accredited to the Republic of Peru, presented his credentials on 6 January to Dr Fernando Belaunde Terry, president of the republic. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Jan 81 p 8 AU]

RURAL SOLIDARITY PROTESTORS VACATE KROSNO OFFICES

LD122322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] For the past 2 weeks or so, a group of several dozen people describing themselves as members of the so-called rural Solidarity have been occupying town and parish offices in Ustrzyki Dolne, Krosno Voivodship. Yesterday, in response to an appeal by the town and parish executive officer in Ustrzyki Dolne and by the deputy regional prosecutor, strikers vacated the occupied offices.

PINKOWSKI, GRABSKI ATTEND KATOWICE MINING MEETING

LD122358 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] At the Wieczorek colliery cultural center in Katowice yesterday [12 January] the leading social and political aktiv of the coal mines held a conference during which this year's extraction targets and problems of work organization in the mining industry were discussed. The meeting was attended by directors of mines, secretaries of works party committees, and representatives of trade union aktivs who represented both the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity organizations in works and the industrial branch trade union of miners. The conference was also attended by members of the party Central Committee Politburo: Premier Jozef Pinkowski; Tadeusz Grabski, secretary of the Central Committee; and Andrzej Zabinski, first secretary of the Katowice party voivodship committee.

The ministry's stand on extraction matters and methods of their implementation was presented by Mieczyslaw Glanowski, minister of mining industry. In a lively discussion representatives of workforces broached many problems on which the regular, productive and safe working of the hard coal mining industry depends. The issue of the 5-day work week, the preservation of the principle, guaranteed by the Jastrzebie agreement, of completely voluntary nature of work on work-free Saturdays, and appropriate principles of rewarding those who are prepared to undertake such work were discussed. Premier Jozef Pinkowski spoke at the end of the conference. The participants decided that they will meet in a few days time, having discussed the Ministry of Mining Industry's proposals with their workforces, to finally set the principles according to which hard coal miners will work this year.

Pinkowski on Work Week

LD130302 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 13 Jan 81

[Excerpts] As reported earlier, a conference of the leading socioeconomic aktivs took place yesterday in the House of Culture of the Wieczorek colliery. In the course of the deliberations, the representatives of the workforces dealt with many essential issues which condition the rhythmical, productive and safe work of the hard coal industry. To the fore came the problem of the 5-day work week, preserving the completely voluntary nature of work on free Saturdays as guaranteed by the Jastrzebie agreement and the appropriate principles of rewarding those who are prepared to turn up for work on free Saturdays. The breaker stressed the need for reestablishing the trust between the workers and the authorities and for conducting a businesslike dialogue between Poles which would serve the homeland in the best possible way.

At the end of the meeting, Premier Jozef Pinkowski took the floor. Referring to matters mentioned during the deliberations, the premier stressed the need for a joing development of the best possible solutions which would consider the interests of the working class, the entire nation and state.

Citing many figures illustrating the growth of coal production over the years, Premier Pinkowski said that they portray not only the development of mining and its contribution to the development of the country, but testify also to the hard work and selflessness of the workforces, as well as demonstrating the mine workers' toil.

All the working people in Poland know, said the premier, that during the past few years this toil was frequently excessive and the rapid increase of extraction, though much needed by the country took place at the expense of the right to a well-deserved rest and at the cost of many privations. Many difficult social issues have accumulated in the mining industry. There have been many distortions due to which the dignity of work has been violated as well as the sense of workers' justice. In mining, just like in the entire economy and in social life, we are now eliminating these deformations.

Referring to the guidelines of the sixth and seventh plenums of the party Central Committee, the premier stressed that they testify to consistent actions designed to bring about a socialist renewal.

We will continue, stressed Jozef Pinkowski, to strive to ensure all the conditions necessary for the agreements signed by the government in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie to be properly implemented.

A later part of the premier's speech was dedicated to the problems connected with relations between the government and the new Solidarity trade unions, touched upon during the debate. The premier stressed that the government has already given frequent proof that it wants to develop a cooperative partnership with the union movement, including Solidarity. The premier also pointed out that some Solidarity organizations exceed their statutory powers and embark upon actions which bring about tension without any essential need. These actions are often conducive to anarchy and do not serve well the development of a program of positive cooperation.

Therefore, we must undertake such actions, stated the premier, through which problems will be resolved with a sense of realism, joint responsibility for our country, for the future of socialist Poland. We must build mutual confidence so that we understand one another better and are consequently able to resolve vital problems more speedily and more correctly.

The next part of the premier's speech was dedicated to the current status of the economy. Against this background he touched on the problem of shortening work hours, saying that the government is unanimous in its opinion that we should strive for a universal 5-day work week, as provided in the Jastrzebie agreement. However, in view of the economic situation in the country, this matter is presently very complex.

The government must base its work on tough economic realities and balance sheets. That is why the issue of shortening the work week should be resolved gradually. The premier recalled the government's proposal on this question. Further, he pointed out that the achievement of free Saturdays calls for a relevant organization of labor during the remaining days of the week in order to ensure the necessary level of coal extraction.

On behalf of the government, the premier appealed to the miners for voluntary work on Saturdays or else the introduction of such forms of labor organization which would make it possible for collieries to supply more coal and for miners to have additional rest days. I am prepared to come again for a meeting with you, assured Jozef Pinkowski, to resolve the issue finally after debates with the workforces, so that the miners will know how to organize their work this year and the entire national economy will learn of the amount of coal on which it can count.

PAP on Pinkowski Address

LD130646 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 13 Jan 81

["Plea to Miners for Extra Effort"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Jan (PAP)--Poland's Prime Minister Jozef Pinkowski tonight appealed to coal miners to agree to work on Saturdays--which are guaranteed by the Jastrzebie agreement as work-free days--because otherwise the effect of reduced extraction on the whole economy would be "simply dramatic".

The premier was addressing a conference of party and trade union activists of the coal industry in Katowice. Working five days a week, he said, the mines would extract only 150 million tonnes of coal this year, i.e. 50 million less than in 1979 and 43 million less than in 1980.

Meanwhile, at the same conference, Minister of Mining Mieczyslaw Glanowski said that Poland needed at least 167.3 million tonnes of coal for domestic consumption and 22 million to 23 million to cover her most pressing export obligations.

Mr Pinkowski warned that a universal adoption of a fourty-hour work-week would aggravate the already existing shortages of various raw materials and products, entail a significant lowering of industrial production and consequently lead to deterioration of the market situation and the living conditions of the population.

The premier urged the miners to agree to work on Saturdays or to come out with proposals for work organization patterns that would reconcile the miners' right to a five-day week with six-day operation of the pits.

Pinkowski voiced the conviction that the party and state authorities were consistent in ensuring the materialization of the socialist renewal but "a favourable course of this process depends not only on the authorities' good-will, on their activity, but on the entire community, on the cooperation of all the social forces interested in improving the situation in the country, in pulling it out from the social and economic crisis."

The premier emphasized that "the government has already given many proofs of its willingness to develop partnerly cooperation with the whole trade union movement, including Solidarnosc. Many planes of this cooperation have been already developed. New experiences have been gained."

Speaking about collaboration with Solidarnosc the prime minister pointed out that "transgressing by some organizations of this [word indistinct] of the statutory rights, their attempts at inducing tension without substantiated reasons, often fosters anarchy and does not serve well the development of a programme of positive cooperation. Hence we undertake such actions as to solve the issues in the mood of realism, joint responsibility for our country, for the future of the socialist Poland."

"There are forces in this country--and they also are trying to permeate Solidarnosc--which bank on instability, follow the motto 'the worse it gets, the better' having in mind their political, often anti-socialist objectives."

Miners Hours Reduced

LD131026 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 13 Jan 81

[Excerpts] As reported earlier a conference of the socioeconomic aktivs of hard coal mines took place in Katowice yesterday.

Minister of Mining Mieczyslaw Glanowski presented the ministry's position on extraction. The minister acquainted the participants in the conference with the detailed proposals concerning the organizations of labor in mines this year resulting from the reduction in working hours. In accordance with these precepts the minimum work week of underground miners will be 40 hours, that is, 8 hours per day. The normal work week for miners will be 2 and 1/2 hours or 2 hours and 20 minutes shorter than the work week for all other employees, in conformity with the universally accepted precepts throughout the country.

A small group of workers will be employed in coal mines on free days to maintain plant safety and readiness. At the same time the precept was adopted that the present level of remuneration for a 6-day work week will be maintained for underground miners under the new 5-day work week. The pay of other mine workers will be settled in accordance with national precepts. The work of miners on free Saturdays will be completely voluntary.

INDUSTRIAL TU COMMISSION DISCUSSES WORK WEEK

LD130424 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 13 Jan 81

[Text] The Coordinating Commission of the Industrial trade unions discussed at its meeting yesterday in Warsaw, among other things, the problem of shortening the work week. It emerges from information presented by secretary of the commission, Stanislaw Cieniuch at a press conference that the commission believes that no attempts at universal administrative solutions to the problems connected with shortening the work hours can take into consideration the specific conditions of individual sectors and enterprises, and therefore cannot be economically or socially effective.

In this connection, the commission has resolved to convene a consultative assembly before the end of this month, suggesting that it will advocate a gradual reduction of the work week within the framework of a 3-year program for economic stabilization. The Coordinating Commission has asked the government once more to submit to public opinion a detailed account of all conditions and costs of the different variants connected with implementation of the program for shortening the work week, in order to make a competent exchange of views on the subject possible. Detailed arguments, considering the specific conditions in various branches of the economy, should be passed on by individual ministries directly to the workforces and trade unions concerned.

The meeting of the Coordinating Commission also discussed the precepts of the trade union bill. The meeting advocated that the bill should determine the guarantees of the state vis-a-vis the union movement and the duties of the trade unions toward the state. It should also define the sanctions for violation of the rights granted to the trade unions.

DANGER OF SPLIT IN SOLIDARITY SEEN IN SILESIA

LD121657 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 9 Jan 81 p 7

[Klas Bergman Dispatch: "Split Now Threatening Solidarity"]

[Text] Katowice--The Independent Trade Unions Solidarity is now wrestling with the difficult problems of a possible split in Poland's industrial center, Silesia, which in the long term could do serious damage to the movement.

The two powerful Solidarity sections in Katowice and Jastrzebie have significant differences of opinion on their relations with the communist party--Katowice has no cooperation whereas Jastrzebie works intimately with the party.

"The problem is serious," Andrzej Rozplochowski, the 30-year-old chairman of the Katowice Solidarity branch said. "People in Jastrzebie have not chosen the right course."

Today the two branches are hardly on speaking terms and at recent roundtable talks arranged between the two groups by the newspaper POLITYKA the Jastrzebie representatives never turned up.

"The Jastrzebie group is dependent on the party," Katowice branch Secretary Kazimierz Switon said. He is a veteran of the Polish opposition movement with a couple of prison sentences and just over 30 arrests for his activities behind him.

"The party has been compromised and we do not want to talk to it now. Perhaps after the party congress. But I do not believe in any changes."

He continued:

"It is difficult to call together all the Solidarity branches in the Katowice area. The party tries to prevent this and tries to keep a check on us and the entire organization. We have no illusions about the party and we want a clean trade union."

Kazimierz Switon, a 49-year-old radio and television repairman from Katowice with 6 children, who is a devout Catholic, is quite definite when we talk about this issue in Solidarity's Katowice headquarters. He has been fighting against the party and the authorities for a long time even though he has been left in peace by the police for the last few months and is preparing his journey as one of the members of the Solidarity delegation to the Pope in Rome later in January.

On the second day of the strike on 30 August last year, Rozplochowski became strike leader at the giant factory in Katowice, after the original strike leader had been fired for being under the influence of the communist party. On the third day of the strike Switon was secretly smuggled into the factory as something of a strike ideologist.

On 23 February 1978 Kazimierz Switon formed the first free trade union in Poland. On 13 April 1978 it was followed by a similar organization in Gdansk, formed by Jacek Kuron, one of the leading members of KOR, the Social Self-Defense Committee.

"We are cooperating well with Solidarity's branches in Gdansk and Szczecin, but we have different views from Jastrzebie's," Switon said, "and we want an apolitical organization. That is the most important thing."

"We will never talk to the party about union problems," Rozplochowski stressed. "I do not believe in the party here in Katowice. It has not changed. It is the same people in the same posts."

"The party must change," Switon said, "for the pressure from below is so strong. But this will never happen without pressure. We must exert pressure, pressure, pressure...."

The Solidarity branch in Jastrzebie, the great coalmining district on the Czechoslovak border, is opposed to these views. There Solidarity and its Chairman Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz have chosen to cooperate closely with the communist party.

These are fundamental differences and they are now threatening to split Solidarity in Poland's industrial heart, where, for example, 15,000 of the 20,000 workers at Huta Katowice have joined Solidarity, or where 90 percent of the 8,000 in the Manifesto mine in Jastrzebie have become members of the new independent trade union. It was not until the final stages of last summer's strikes that the workers in Silesia went on strike but it was probably they who tipped the scales.

At all the other watersheds in postwar Polish history, 1956, 1970, 1976, they have remained calm.

"We joined the strikes last summer so late because people down here have a different mentality," Andrzej Rozplochowski, himself born in Gdansk, explained. "There are still a lot of police here and the party apparatus is still strong."

It is a fact today that all the Solidarity leaders in both Katowice and Jastrzebie, with the exception of Switon, come from other parts of Poland. They are all young, with the exception of Switon, who once said that this movement could only be created in Silesia by people who had moved there. However, Rozplochowski believes in success in the end, that "freedom and democracy" will triumph. "Solidarity is the great hope in this process, the beginning of the construction of true democracy in Poland."

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI CRITICIZES GWIAZDA FRG INTERVIEW

AU121601 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5 Jan 81 p 2

[J. Lew article: "It Was So But It Will Not Be So"]

[Text] As our country's situation continues to stabilize, the many hunters from the Western bourgeois press who come to our country after sensational stories are finding their task increasingly difficult. [paragraph continues]

Nonetheless, mindful of what their mission in our country is, they are doing everything to be equal to their tasks, above all political tasks. They occasionally succeed in something somehow.

A reporter from the West German newspaper BILD-ZEITUNG, which is not highly thought of in the FRG, succeeded last December in talking to Andrzej Gwiazda, a leading official of the Gdansk Solidarity. Interviews with Solidarity officials are part of Western newsmen's ritual in our country. We should add in this connection that what arouses the newsmen's main astonishment is that no one hinders them in carrying out such interviews except--oh paradox!--the very...Solidarity officials who usually have no time for interviews.

But as we have already said,the BILD-ZEITUNG newsman succeeded with the Gwiazda interview but actually halfway, so to speak. If we are to believe what the BILD-ZEITUNG published on 19 December 1980, the newsman in question had been able to obtain from Mr Gwiazda the statements he wished to obtain. Here is a passage from the interview:

Question: How far can Poland go in the process of democratization?

Answer: To reach full democracy.

Question: In a multiparty system?

Answer: Yes, it was so and it will be so.

Let us ask ourselves: Where is the rub? The answer is: Because the BILD-ZEITUNG described Mr Gwiazda as "Lech Walesa's deputy," that is, a deputy of an unquestioned leader of Solidarity. The conclusion is that Gwiazda spoke to the newsman in an official capacity. In this connnection it is worth making a certain comparison--to compare certain texts, namely, the aforementioned passage with the text of the interview given to POLITYKA on 15 October 1980 by Solidarity officials, including Messrs Lech Walesa and Andrzej Gwiazda. (POLITYKA issue 44 dated 1 November 1980)

L. Walesa: ....I ask you to put down that we will not submit any political programs and in no case will implement such programs.

A. Gwiazda: ....We do not want the trade union to be platforms used to proclaim the political views of individuals or entire groups but you can hardly deny people their views.

POLITYKA: But all you want to do is to ensure that the trade unions are not platforms for those political views?

L. Walesa: That is what we want. They will not be such platforms.

Whether Solidarity has become, in the BILD-ZEITUNG, a platform for voicing political views by individuals, that is, by a specific individual--Mr Gwiazda--is no longer an open question in view of the foregoing comparison because Mr Gwiazda is billed as "Lech Walesa's deputy." Whether anyone wanted it or not, the consequences are there. We can say that one consequence is that above all it harms the good name of Solidarity and supplies a new argument to all kinds of adversaries of the cause of the country's renewal, which was begun by the workers class, which is being guided by the workers party in its new, genuine appearance and which Solidarity has pledged to support--a pledge that is of truly great significance from the viewpoint of our national good. Because we have witnessed the dark practices of some sections of the Western press, involving among other things falsifications of texts, as Mr Jacek Kuron has learned on his own evidence, it is possible that the copy of Mr Gwiazda's interview in the BILD-ZEITUNG also contains deliberate distortions. Conclusions in this connection are legion. One of them makes it necessary to counter the assertions that should not have been made by a highly placed official of Solidarity. After all, not so long ago the press spokeman for Solidarity spoke in the weekly KULTURA (Issue 48 of 30 November 1980) about respecting our basic constitutional realities as an expression of Solidarity's political realism. Could it be that we are faced with the West German yellow newspaper's attempt to manipulate Mr Gwiazda, that is, causing a scandal?

On the other hand, perhaps Mr Gwiazda had really said what the BILD-ZEITUNG published to the delight of certain readers in the FRG. Mr Gwiazda simply decided to avail himself of the right to air his views, a right which no one should be denied. On the contrary, such a right should be observed all the more since it is an attribute of socialist democracy, especially in view of the fact that its observance in bourgeois democracy is not quite certain. If, for example, Mr Gwiazda were a trade union leader in the FRG, it would be most doubtful whether the BILD-ZEITUNG would publish his political views regarding the prospects of the FRG's political system. In the political and social spheres the BILD-ZEITUNG has its own established views, which have been frequently restated, because it belongs to Axel Springer's notorious reactionary press concern. Those views boil down to the simple philosophy that the capitalist system, within which "work horses" and their trade unions are allotted a less than miserable role, must be consistently strengthened. This is what the BILD-ZEITUNG wishes us from the bottom of its heart. When one reads BILD-ZEITUNG one cannot help but assume that its staffers are not far removed from dreaming about some new fhehrer who would ensure the full power of large-scale capitalists. Candidly speaking, those gentlemen are simply forced to live in the "democratic multiparty system" in the FRG, in which actually two parties really have a say. But then neither of them is a workers party in that it is committed to more profound social and political reforms, although the majority of the FRG population are working people. It is generally interesting that in the developed captalist countries the workers' majority is unable to hold power and even to participate in government to the necessary extent. Why is that? Reflection on this subject would certainly act as a brake on certain irresponsible statements.

Let us leave this subject alone, however, and let us return to the fact in question: the interview with Mr Gwiazda, according to which "full democracy" will prevail in Poland only when the "multiparty system" is introduced. We read: "So it was and so it will be."

There "were" many things in Poland and elsewhere and they disappeared because social progress demanded it. We justly grumble about many shortcomings in the teaching of history in our schools. This is particularly true of the history of the workers movement, bearing in mind the workers' class's present leading position in society. The statement published in the BILD-ZEITUNG could be obvious evidence of those shortcomings. After all, the author of that statement takes the view that we should return to the situation of some 50 (!) years ago when a multiparty system existed in Poland at the time of its independence. At that time the Polish workers class fought valiantly and stubbornly for genuine social reforms to satisfy itself and all the working people. No one will be able to deny that, despite its evident errors, the communist party was the most consistent champion of those rights. But what happened? Well, it was possible to achieve precious little under the multiparty system insofar as social quesitons were concerned. On the other hand, that entire system was speedily and radically annihilated by the propertied classes as a result of the notorious May coup in 1926. A period of dictatorial government began which decisively smothered all liberation attempts by the exploited and oppressed majority of the people.

Because some people do not read the relevant books--to their great disadvantage--let us recall the views of Adam Prochnik who, although no communist, was an objective participant and expert in the events of that period. He thus ended his book "The First 15 Years of Independent Poland."

"...In the tough and difficult transit period of the decisive struggle between two worlds--in the momentous period during which new paths are being blazed--the workers class is continuing to be present at its difficult and responsible post." (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI editorial note: The book was written in 1933. Sanacja censorship placed restrictions on it, including confiscation. The book was republished by Ksiazka i Wiedza in 1957. It is available in libraries.)

It is that class's enormous achievement that, despite the most atrocious repression, Poland unbendingly maintained its position in the decisive struggles between capitalism and socialism until its socioeconomic and independence program was victorious and until People's Poland--the working people's state--was established.

According to the fantasies of the BILD-ZEITUNG interviewer who, it is obvious is completely unaware of the workers toil and sacrifices of many decades, including the most cruel years of the national liberation war against German fascism, we should turn back the clock of history in someone's (?) interest and restore the political system in which a free "play" of forces for power over Polish society would take place--meaning sweeping practices of reaction, private gain, the selfishness of the strong, political adventurism, false aspirations, anarchy and perhaps terrorism in its modern shape. That would be a denial of democracy and of the ambitions, achievements and role of the workers class as a fighter for progress that opposes, through its very nature, backwardness, chaos and all social distortions.

It is a fact that only a Pole who has no idea of our country's historical experience or of its present changes is able nowadays to make the statements published by the BILD-ZEITUNG.

"It was so and so it will be?..." It was so but it will not be so. The guarantee of that is none other than the Polish workers class which will not let anyone take away what it has achieved. Its party is developing a new road amidst the present struggles of two worlds. The truth is unequivocal: If renewal is implemented by the workers class, it can only have a socialist character.

It is hardly possible to say anything good about the person who is ready to make anti-socialist, that is, antiworker statements in a bourgeois newspaper that is a perfect propagator of capitalism. For the sake of the total clarity of the case let us add: a newspaper that is known for its revanchist tendencies toward Poland. What is actually at stake? We would very much like to wish the BILD-ZEITUNG interviewer and ourselves that what was published proves untrue. But in any case we hope that the BILD-ZEITUNG finds better subjects for future interviews.

SOLIDARITY AIDE ON TU ROLE, CHURCH AS MEDIATOR

LD121547 Rome AVANTI in Italian 9 Jan 81 p 16

[Alberto Ninotti Gdynia interview with Polish Solidarity trade union adviser Aurelia Polanska: "Polish Church's Traditional Mediation Role"--date not specified]

[Excerpt] [Question] In August the workers' action exploded something that, using an old euphemism, is called the contradictions of the system in Poland. This was followed by a difficult period, especially from October through November, but on December 17, with the inauguration in Gdansk of the monument dedicated to those killed in 1970, there was a symbolic signing of a settlement between the workers and the communist party.

[Answer] The important thing is that on that day all of Poland was shown that Solidarity is a real force that can show itself to everyone and show itself on television, in public, without hiding. It proved its strength by erecting a monument which had not even been hoped for before 17 December. Nobody believed it possible. It was magnificent. The first stage took place in August. The second stage was reached with the registration of the Solidarity trade union. The third was reached in December with the symbolic monument in Gdansk, which bears witness to the trade union's strength.

[Question] What will the fourth stage be?

[Answer] It will be the organization of the trade union but for this we must await the Ninth PZPR Congress, because then we will know under what conditions we will be able to work. Following the organization of the trade union will come the organization of labor in every factory, in every place of work. We are now living in a preparation phase so that the young people will know how to move and act in the special conditions in which Poland finds itself. It is a real phase of apprenticeship to learn to organize ourselves under present conditions and in accordance with requirements. This is a very heavy and difficult undertaking for the workers movement but we are confident that something really important for the workers will result from this effort.

We are talking about an out and out regeneration, which also involves a modification of the communist party. The majority of party members themselves want to change the conditions and structures of their organization. For instance, in the university institute where I work a secret ballot was held which completely changed the local party leaders. It was a real shock. I have been working in that institute for 18 years and it was the first time I had ever witnessed anything like it. I was able to participate in a free election for the first time.

[Question] A path strewn with roses, but it will not be long before the thorns begin to prick. Let us leave aside the thunder rumbling in the Polish skies. Let us look at the land, or rather at the peasants who cultivate it and who are such an important part of it. In an economy such as Poland's, highly centralized but with an agriculture which is 70-80 percent privately owned by small landowners, sooner or later we could expect a clash between the workers, struggling for pay increases and stable food prices, and the peasants, wanting better prices for their products. Why did it not happen before?

[Answer] For the time being we do not know how to resolve this problem which does exist and which neither the government nor Solidarity is capable of resolving. It has been talked about a great deal, especially at the Lodz meeting which I mentioned before. At present Solidarity is trying to resolve it but it is a complex and difficult matter which questions Poland's entire economic model. It is an extremely delicate model, dangerous to touch. For the time being we are just starting to think about shifting it. For one thing, the system is at present divided into two parts--the first is the official one, which guarantees only the minimum requirements for survival. The second is based on free prices and it is here that action must be taken to adjust an existing situation in order to create a mixed system with which I am only partly in agreement. But the fact remains that there is as yet no universal recipe in economics. Like it or not, one must have recourse to a certain degree of empiricism to deal with the situations that occur. Of course, the prices problem is very difficult to resolve. We need 2 years and at first there will have to be strict controls on food prices. Solidarity's major problem is to prevent living standards from being lowered. This is why massive efforts are being made to stabilize prices but it is a very hard task.

[Question] There is not only the problem of prices, temporarily shelved but inevitably bound to reemerge on an even larger scale. There is also the problem of the indebtedness with the West--$20 billion, which has now become $24 billion and is increasing to $27 billion. At the moment how much of a burden is this problem for Poland and Solidarity in particular?

[Answer] We must postpone repayment of this debt and this is why we agree with the request for a temporary moratorium on repayments. We are well aware that by so doing we are merely further increasing the debt, but we must have time to increase production in order to improve our economic situation. It was in fact the Italian Government which made such a proposal to us in November. But the real problem has not been resolved and it concerns the use of credits obtained in the past from the West, which have been invested very badly, in the wrong initiatives. This is why we now have a debt that we are unable to repay. We could have been in a better situation but one-third of the credits obtained were destined to increase the purchase of consumers goods while the remaining two-thirds were invested wrongly. False hopes were inspired in people. Nevertheless, I am optimistic about the future and I believe that we will extricate ourselves from the difficulties, though not in the short term. We need 2 years, which will be difficult and full of sacrifices.

[Question] It is easy to criticize errors after they have been made but what are the right kind of investments for Poland?

[Answer] We must set our sights on mechanizing agriculture and on the food and agriculture industry. The government has only announced its aims in this field. It is Solidarity that is demanding bigger investments in agriculture. We must end investments in the major state agricultural concerns which are uneconomic and concentrate instead on helping the small private enterprises. [paragraph continues]

These account for 70-75 percent of land area and 80 percent of output, despite the considerably inferior means at their disposal, compared to those available to state enterprises. If the government makes these promises, Solidarity will approve such a course.

[Question] Solidarity is not inventing these things on its own. Let us show our hands. What is the aim of the economists who support it? What kind of economy seems best suited to Poland? State-owned and centralized or an economy based on self-management or, last, is the aim at a system containing private elements?

[Answer] We say "no" to the centralized system and "no" to the private one. I have in mind an economic decentralization based on the autonomy of the enterprises, a system which is economically independent. We have studied this problem at the university. We accept the existence of a central plan but only on condition that it is very general and that it concerns only certain very important points. [answer ends]

Time passed quickly in Gdynia. I had little of it left for this conversation which I feel gives a concise glimpse of the emergent Poland or of the Poland that is trying to emerge.

So we returned to the subject of the protagonist in Polish society, Solidarity, and of its identity, which to Western eyes appears "leftwing" as opposed to the government's conservatism. Aurelia Polanska did not entirely agree: "Let me tell you a story," she said. "Here we say that in Italy the Christian Democrats are in the government and the communists in opposition, whereas here the opposite is true: The communists are in government and Solidarity in opposition. As you can see, everything is relative. It is very difficult to establish whether the movement is rightwing or leftwing because it embraces all of Polish society and is closely bound up with the country's problems. All this is typical of Poland's historical tradition."

[Question] Let us by all means talk about Poland as a whole and about the role within it of the church, which historically represents the Polish nationality.

[Answer] It is a role of mediation that belongs to our country's historical tradition. Today the church mediates between the communist government and Solidarity, as in the 16th century it mediated between the king and the nobles. Its role is a fundamental one.

[Question] To return to an earlier question, it was with this conviction that I witnessed the symbolic signing of an agreement between Solidarity and the communist government in Gdansk on 17 December. It was the large-scale representation of the church on that occasion which made me sure of it.

[Answer] Without the church's mediation any kind of dialogue would be impossible. The same applies to Polish society as a whole. It performs a moral, not a political, function.

[Question] The church performs the moral role. Solidarity takes care of trade union matters while the communists deal with politics. Pluralism in Poland is protected by euphemisms. There is a real explanation for this: In Poland government--government on behalf of a third party--is managed by the minority, whereas the majority is in opposition, while the church mediates between them. There is a very clear lesson in this: Pluralism and democracy are separated not by a narrow stream but by a wide and deep river though its two sides do face each other.

[Answer] Our basic concern is to live in peace. We want to live in peace in our own country and in relations with all Eastern bloc countries. This is our basic concern. It is exasperating for us to know that the Western newspapers are continually asking themselves whether or not we will be invaded, without any concern for what would become of Poland, the Polish people and all of us. They are solely concerned with relations that take place over our heads and we consider this terrible. It is immoral.

[Question] But cruelty does exist. It is part of the world and of human relations. This leads to the $100,000 question: Will they invade you or not? Are you optimistic or not?

[Answer] I would like to remind you of what both Lech Walesa and Cardinal Wyszinski have said: namely that we have a great internal strength and are capable of advancing Poland's development but that there must be peace to achieve this aim. This is the most important issue for us.

[Question] Peace is not simply something intangible. It is also something more visible and definable. This is why there has always been talk about a Poland without peace. It seems to me that Poland needs less history and a more secure geography.

[Answer] We see no contradiction between our history and our geography. All the Poles want to do is to improve their parliamentary system and to increase their people's powers. They are aware that people can achieve better results if they rely on their own strength. Poland's crisis has been exacerbated by the fact that the people were not entitled to become involved: The system granted them no opportunity to influence events. Now the Polish people want to know about and to influence their own future. They want to decide their own future. The roots of our misfortunes are very distant and we cannot eliminate history.

WALESA, DELEGATION DEPART FOR ITALY, VATICAN

LD131126 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 13 Jan 81

[Text] A delegation of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity, headed by Lech Walesa, departed for the Vatican and Italy today on a visit scheduled to last several days. The purpose of the visit is to take part in an audience to be granted by John Paul II. This audience, as has been reported in the Vatican, will take place on 15 January. Another aim of the visit is to exchange experience with activists of the united front federation of the three central Italian trade union organizations which proposed the visit.

FRENCH TU DELEGATION MEETS WALESA, SZYSZKA

LD092134 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 9 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jan (PAP)--The delegation of French CGT [General Labor Confederation] trade unionists headed by CGT secretary Pierre Gensous, for four days now staying in Poland, took part in two-day debates of Solidarity's National Consultative Commission in Gdansk on January 7-8 where Pierre Gensous addressed the Polish unionists. Yesterday in Gdansk, the delegation met with Solidarity leader, Chairman of the commission Lech Walesa.

In Warsaw today CGT Secretary Pierre Gensous met with Albin Szyszka, chairman of the Polish branch unions Consultative Commission. The two discussed trade union activity and the situation of trade unions in Poland and France. They also reviewed the prospects and forms of further development of bilateral cooperation, continuation of the dialogue on "international economic cooperation and interests of the working people", among other things. The CGT union delegation invited unionists of the Polish branch trade unions Consultative Commission to pay a visit to France.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS NEED FOR 'TRUE UNITY', ACCORD

LD121701 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jan 81 pp 6-7

[Ignacy Krasicki article: "Unity of the Polish People--But What Kind of Unity?"]

[Text] One of our readers--citizen M.W. from Warsaw--has sent to the author [of this article] a letter in which he states among other things:

"Even though our views differ in many respects, we undoubtedly have similar disinterested and honest intentions as far as the determination of our attitudes is concerned. Furthermore, I believe that we also have at heart the welfare, happiness, prosperity and greatness of Poland--a Poland without any qualifying adjectives, but one that is fair to all its citizens--and the progress of the process of actual renewal in this spirit."

The editor of TRYBUNA LUDU has received a number of similar letters. They state an otherwise obvious fact that our society has been torn apart by inner divisions to a much greater extent than it would appear at first glance. However, yet another truth breaks through these statements. Despite different attitudes and views, our society feels a need for unity. And, what is more, it generally wants to achieve a true unity resulting from clashes among various views and from different living conditions and opinions.

During a talk with the author, a certain well-known Western journalist--an eyewitness of the celebrations commemorating the 10th anniversary of the December tragedy on the seacoast--stated: "In December 1980, you Poles showed the world an image less well known but even more astounding than that of your heroic war deeds. It is the image of a nation which in its hours of trial has been able to rise above its innate individualism and tendency to discord and has shown a really amazing unity. Amazing because [this unity is] mature and aware of differences of views which this unity does not preclude but, on the contrary, initiates."

If in recent months the meaning of the August accords has so often been associated with a kind of social contract, it probably is precisely because in this case dialogue and negotiations have led not only to mutual concessions but also to mutual understanding. Consequently, from this viewpoint, the kind of national unity achieved as a result of the above-mentioned accords has acquired a clearer dimension and a deeper meaning.

Unity of the Polish people but what kind of unity? We are asking this question today not only because in the recent past this notion was presented in an artificial and false light inconsistent with Marxist criteria but also because the country's situation, as the old year gives way to the new, makes the answer to this question especially important. The main motto adopted by realistic and progressive world forces friendly to us--let the Polish people themselves resolve their own problems--recently made the whole country realize the problem of its real responsibility and genuine unity.

So, referring to this, with what kind of balance sheet is our nation entering the year 1981?

Among obviously positive aspects of the situation should be counted the phenomenon of a maturing and extension of the national front of realism and commonsense which was so stirringly and, in a way, symbolically confirmed during the December ceremonies in Gdansk. A gradual end to strikes and the deescalation of wage demands are a further sign of this trend toward stabilization. Referring to this, Comrade S. Kania stated at a meeting of the congress commission: "The first weeks after the seventh Central Committee plenum have shown that the people are becoming increasingly aware of their duties and are increasingly clearly realizing the consequences of any threats to a socialist renewal of life. This is an exceptionally important feature of the changes which are beginning to take place throughout our party."

At the same time, however, toward the end of 1980, some other alarming facts appeared. For how can a fall in industrial production in the fourth quarter of 1980 as compared with the third quarter be explained unless by a breakdown of discipline which can still be observed in some places? Yet when now we set against the workers' final reaction to certain instances of callousness the right to strike and the right to work, we identify with the latter a production activeness commensurate with the country's needs during a still exceptionally difficult period. What kind of renewal can be achieved in Poland without precisely this sort of activeness? How could the new trade unions' sense of coresponsibility for our homeland be reconciled with a still declining production and labor productivity curve?

The events which have occurred in recent weeks and, especially, the way in which some antisocialist opposition circles in the country have reacted to hysterical noises about Poland made by the capitalist press have pointed toward yet another problem of fundamental importance. In practice, it is the problem of people's attitude toward their own state. It has now become one of the main criteria of the patriotism and civic attitude of the Polish people as a whole. In this connection, it is not without emotion that I quote from a letter sent by citizen Z.K. from Krakow to our editor:

"An entire generation of the Polish people has fought for the right to independent state existence. What now seems normal and usual--the fact that we have our own state--to our countrymen was a wild dream for nearly 200 years. However, it is not enough to have a state. It is also necessary to truly cherish it. I am one of that dwindling number of Polish people who were born at the time of the partitions. It is on their behalf that I warn young people: Demand any just rights due to you and criticize the authorities whenever necessary, but remember one thing--you must not under any circumstances raise your hand against Poland and its present form of statehood. Sometimes it has been a stern mother and often it has been poor but what would we do without her? State strength is tantamount to Poland's strength and to the strength of us all. Therefore, genuine renewal must be a kind of renewal which will increase, not diminish, the Polish state's strength."

I believe that, by writing these words, citizen Z.K. has made things perfectly clear. As a result of the changes now taking place and of the various ways to improve the republic now under discussion, the Polish socialist state should be strengthened, not weakened. Therefore, any sign of social anarchy, any challenge to the government's authority and any confrontation between selfish and demagogic demands and the country's supreme raison d'etat, its structural and political imperatives and its alliances is a sign of adventurist trends aimed at incapacitating the state and undermining the supreme weal of all Polish people at its very fundation.

All Polish people--true and honest citizens of People's Poland--can and must come together regardless of their outlook on life or the sources of their ideological inspiration, provided they accept the above-mentioned truths. A true unity of the Polish people, which is being achieved on the basis of recommendations given by our party Central Committee's sixth and seventh plenums, reflects this kind of concurrence of attitudes, which, though differentiated and diverse, conciously subordinate their individual desires to the superme need for a renewal and consolidation of Polish socialist statehood.

The concordant appeals for a consolidation of socialist order, calm, security and stabilization which have recently been addressed to the nation stem from precisely such a realistically and responsibly understood unity of the Polish people in the face of a crisis experienced in the full view of the world. However, there is no room within the framework of this unity for any antisocialist trends stubbornly propagated by relentless adversaries of socialism in Poland--thethe enemies of our community--which are destabilizing the country and society.

Some of these trends have been known for some time and it is not by chance that they have been connected with antisocialist dissident groups. Comrade S. Kania mentioned this phenomenon as follows: "Activities undertaken from positions contrary to ours still occur. Representatives of the Workers' Defense Committee [KOR] express views at various meetings which not only do not help to stabilize the country but are directed against socialist Poland's fundamental interests."

Obviously, it is a question not only of KOR but also of various other groups of adversaries of socialism in Poland. It was on their behalf and indeed about them that J. Kuron from the Social Self-Defense Committee [KSS]-KOR wrote as early as 1976 as follows: "In our country, people of various ideological origins and with various outlooks, political views, planning concepts and so forth see themselves as members of a political opposition. Our only common feature is the fact that we have one common adversary--the sociopolitical system prevailing in our country" ("Thoughts About a Plan For Action").

A. Michnik echoed him 4 years later, as late as 1980, by writing:

"The authorities must realize that an institutionalization of conflict and compromise is the only way to base public life on the principle of socialist contract. Let us repeat that, otherwise, only committees set on fire will shed light on the real outlines of the picture of society" (No 6 · of KSS-KOR information bulletin).

Let us add that in a recent edition of the illegal ROBOTNIK GDANSKI [GDNASK WORKER] Kuron wrote at great length about the need to further undermine state structures, taking this opportunity to vent his anti-Soviet feelings while passing over in silence the fact that in its appeal the Episcopate had also called dissidents to order.... In an interview which he gave DER SPIEGEL magazine at the end of December 1980, Kuron also expressed the view that the new trade unions represent "an alternative power center secured from the state authorities by force" which is to keep the Polish socialist system "in check."

The above mentioned trends initiated by some well-known and fierce adversaries of socialism in our country, and which have noisily been propagated by imperialist diversion centers abroad, not only do not fit into the framework of the premises determining the Polish people's actual unity but obviously strike at its fundamental basis. For their aim is not to strengthen the Polish state but, on the contrary, to weaken it.

Similarly, people who would like to "politicize" the new trade unions in their own way, more or less consciously help to anarchize and destabilize the situation in the country. For instance, in its annual report on events showing either an increase or a decrease in press freedom the bourgeois Swiss Press Institute recently put forward in a world context the Polish information media as an undoubted and meaningful example of development of press freedom on an international scale,whereas our own demagogues have imparted some extremist contents to the discussion about a new bill concerning censorship.

The same circles have altogether ignored Solidarity's statutes which define it as a trade union because they quite clearly want to see a new trade union organization of the working people transformed into a specific (opposition) political organization. It need hardly be added that such trends, which are contrary to the principles of our system and to the contents of the accords, weaken the cohesion of both state and society and are, in fact, a clear manifestation of antisocialist escalation.

So the new content of the unity of the Polish people, consistent with the requirements of renewal work, is clear. It does not mean at all that any attempt is being made to bring various views and attitudes into line. On the contrary, it presupposes their diversity and, often, their controversial nature with respect to one another. It is against this background that it emphasizes the intention of achieving realistic compromises. It focuses on a matter of fundamental importance for the entire nation, namely, the consolidation of the Polish socialist state and its leading force--the PZPR.

Indeed this is how we at present understand the question of national unity, a unity which has again been taking shape for nearly 6 months through a difficult and complicated process of social renewal developing in our country on a socialist basis.

DEFENSE MINISTER JARUZELSKI OBSERVES TRAINING

LD092050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Jan 81

[Text] Intensive training for soldiers has been in progress from the first days of the new year. Many units have been staying at firing ranges.

[Begin recording of unidentified reporter] Subunits of the "Armia Ludowa" northern mechanized division are practicing in difficult winter conditions.

The practical training being given at the firing ranges gives the soldiers an opportunity to acquaint themselves precisely with the technical and practical possibilities of their weapons and equipment and is an important stage in (?soldiers' life). Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, has observed a number of firing range exercises. An increase in the tempo of battle activities and in the responsibility of every soldier for the correct and speedy execution of his tasks requires that the system of command and the (?specialized) skills of everyone executing an order be improved all the time. The firing range exercises develop initiative and resourcefulness, teach soldiers to be independent in thought and action, and improve the mental and physical condition and resistance to hardships. The aspiration to achieve a fighting efficiency worthy of those continuing the tradition of the division is manifested in all these activities.

The atmosphere, which is prevalent in the armed forces, of party involvement in implementing this year's difficult and ambitious training tasks is a factor which mobilizes people to work effectively. Through their healthy attitude and through the results of their training the soldiers testify to their bond with the working class and the whole nation.

In conversations with the soldiers, General Jaruzelski took an interest in how the training is proceeding. He stated, among other things, that our armed forces--which have always been closely and inseparably united with the nation--are serving well the renewal in our country through combat readiness, political attitude, discipline and social selflessness. The minister took an interest in the everyday conditions of the soldiers in the difficult firing range conditions. The intensive training of the troops continues. [end recording]

WOJTASZEK COMMENTS ON UPCOMING PARTY CONGRESS

LD111958 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1138 GMT 11 Jan 81

[Text] Havana, 11 Jan (TANJUG)--Emil Wojtaszek, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, told the Cuban weekly BOHEMIA that the basic preoccupation of the forthcoming PZPR extraordinary congress will be to strengthen the party's leading role in society.

Wojtaszek said this implied support for the course of the party's renewal--that is, the party's return to the fundamental values of socialism--as well as the renewal of ideological values in line with Leninist norms. In Wojtaszek's words, the congress should also provide directives for socialist democracy, for strengthening the party internally and for perfecting methods of the functioning of power at all levels of the Polish state.

Repeating the assessments of the new Polish leadership that the mass protests by Polish workers were not directed against socialism and the party but against the violation of principles and mistakes, Wojtaszek stressed that "no enemy forces of any kind or the most cunning methods will divert the Polish working class from the socialist path which our country has been following for 36 years, nor will they weaken our fraternal ties with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community." He added that Poland remains "a firm link of the socialist community and a friend and ally of the Soviet Union, of all socialist countries, of the movement for national liberation and of all revolutionary and progressive forces of the world."

POWER MINISTRY WARNS OF CRITICAL COAL SHORTAGES

LD101735 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 10 Jan 81

[Text] According to the Ministry of Power Industry and Atomic Energy, during the first 10 days of January, due to inadequate deliveries of coal which have been lower than daily consumption, a precipitous drop in the quantity of coal stockpiled at power stations has occurred.

In many large power stations the amount of coal is estimated as being below the critical stage. If on working days coal deliveries to power stations are not increased to 250,000 tons per day, then there will be a further drop in the amount of coal stockpiled at power stations.

Thus, the power system will be forced to introduce further cuts in electricity supplies, both for industry and for private users.

KANIA VISITS KARLINO OIL PLANT, RESCUE LEADERS

LD121646 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee, is visiting Karlino today. He met with leaders of the rescue operation and was acquainted with the progress of work that resulted in controlling the oil blowout at the Daszewo-1 well. As you know, final preparations are being made in Karlino for the completion of an oil pipeline between the well and the nearby railway station, from which the first train will depart for Gdansk tomorrow with a load of Karlino crude.

JABLONSKI SPEAKS AT WARSAW PRIZE-GIVING CEREMONY

LD122140 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Excerpts] More than 3,100 housing estate and district committees as well as branches of housing cooperatives from throughout Poland took part in the fourth round of the competition organized by the All-Polish Committee of the National Unity Front under the motto: "Self-Government in the Service of Inhabitants." The presentation of prizes to competition winners was held in the capital today with the participation of Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council and of the All-Polish Committee of the National Unity Front.

Presenting prizes, Henryk Jablonski cordially congratulated the winners and recalled that a few days ago the draft of basic provisions of economic reform was published.

The document puts great emphasis on the issue of community participation in managing our economy. Henryk Jablonski stressed that occupants' self-government should also help to develop a dialogue with authority, to put forward welfare demands and to directly influence their implementation.

SEJM APPROVES FOREIGN TRADE SECTION OF BUDGET

LD091836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Jan 81

[Text] Sejm commissions continue to hold intensive sessions. The Commission of Legislative Work and the Commission of Foreign Trade were among those which examined the state budget and the draft socioeconomic plan for this year.

Ryszard Karski, minister of foreign trade and maritime economy, told the deputies that protocols on trade exchange this year with the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary had not yet been signed.

This arises from our inability to safeguard, for our partners, the coal deliveries provided for in long-term agreements. Our neighbors tie in the deliveries of their raw materials and materials to Poland with the deliveries of our coal.

Having been assured that the Ministry of Foreign Trade will regard the remarks made during the discussion in the Sejm Commission as its program of action, the deputies approved, with one dissenting voice, the draft plan and budget, as far as the section dealing with foreign trade is concerned.

SEJM COMMISSION DEBATES ROLE, SCOPE OF TELEVISION

LD121558 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 9 Jan 81

[From ZYCIE WARSZAWY report on sessions of Sejm commissions]

[Excerpt] During its deliberations the Culture and Arts Commission considered the plan and budget of the Committee for Radio and Television. Discussion was focused mainly on the problem of social function of radio and television programs. Deputies considered the following to be the basic aims of that function: to inform and educate citizens, and to entertain. Criticism was voiced in the sphere of television theater and entertainment. It is not expected that the duration of television broadcasts will be curtailed this year but some changes will have to be made in connection with the shorter work week. The Committee for Radio and Television has withdrawn from the production of the Opole song festival, but has retained the management of the intervision festival in Sopot and the Olsztyn review.

Changes made in the committee are intended to restore the principle of collegiality in managing that institution and to reactivate the program and scientific-technological councils.

DRAFT LAW ON STATE LABOR INSPECTION OUTLINED

LD071950 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 81

[Text] The cessation of the activities of the Trade Union Central Council has made it necessary to adjust the legal situation with regard to labor inspection. The need has emerged for setting up a state labor inspectorate which would not be subordinated to the state administration but which, under the supervision of the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK], would be directly subordinated to the Sejm.

This issue is being dealt with by the draft bill on state labor inspection which is currently before the Sejm. It has been sent to the Sejm by the State Council. The draft bill defines the tasks, range and methods of action as well as the organization of such an inspectorate as an organ supervising the state of (?labor safety and hygiene) and the observance of the labor law in all factories. The essential novelty in the draft bill is the authorization of the NIK chairman to appeal against legally valid verdicts concerning cases dealing with benefits due to employees and members of their families resulting from accidents at work and from industrial diseases. A labor protection council as an advisory body consisting of representatives of trade unions, ministries, scientific and research institutes and social and other organizations is planned.

Sejm Commissions Examine Draft

LD100825 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 10 Jan 81

[Text] Various Sejm commissions were at work in Warsaw yesterday, dealing with the drafts of this year's plan and budget. At the joint session of the Commission for Labor and Social Affairs and the Commission for Legislative Work, the draft bill on state labor inspection was dealt with. It was requested, inter alia, that the chief labor inspector be appointed by the Council of State, and not by the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, as provided for by the draft bill.

SUPREME CHAMBER OF CONTROL CHECKS CONSTRUCTION

LD071910 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 81

[Text] A decision of the sixth Central Committee Party Plenum instructed the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] and the organs of finance to check on private construction investment in which there is doubt regarding the lawfulness of the means used.

Necessary measures have been adopted for this purpose in all voivodships. Of a large number of buildings built since 1971 some 330,000 building were constructed for the nonfarming population. It is necessary to select those which arouse genuine reservations. The NIK units concentrate primarily on the examination of cases pertaining to persons who have occupied or still occupy leading positions in our economic and social life. In examining private investments special attention is being paid to the legality of the source of material and financial means used for the construction. At present more than 400 such cases are under examination. They affect 600 persons. As a result of the investigation several score persons have already been removed from leading positions for their infringement of the rules of law and social norms. Several score cases have been passed on to the prosecution organs in order to initiate penal proceedings.

GOVERNMENT-EPISCOPATE JOINT COMMISSION MEETS

LD102120 Warsaw PAP in English 2042 GMT 10 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jan (PAP)--The joint commission of government and Episcopate representatives met at a successive session today. The commission expressed its appreciation for all those who contributed to the solemnity of the ceremony of unveiling the monuments and memorial plaques to the victims of the tragic December of 1970 in Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin and Elblag. The commission said that the sense of national unity displayed during the ceremony should dominate everyday life as well. This shores up the hope for coming out of the existing crisis and for strengthening Poland's authority as an important factor in international stability, especially in Europe. The commission expressed the conviction that the Polish nation will solve its problems on its own.

The commission discussed the secular character of the state against the nation's pluralism of world outlooks and stressed the importance of this issue in shaping social life in Poland. It was decided that this fundamental problem will be reflected in the search for solutions to concrete problems. The commission, which will convene again next February, appointed three more working teams: legislative matters, publications and magazines, and for upbringing.

MARITIME ECONOMY PARTY SECRETARIES HOLD MEETING

LD072032 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 7 Jan 81

[Text] A conference of secretaries of grassroot party organizations of maritime economy enterprises took place at the party Central Committee today. Tasks of party organizations arising from the resolutions of the seventh Central Committee plenum were examined. Last year's economic results attained by work forces of maritime economy enterprises were assessed positively. This pertains to the inflow of hard currency earned by ports and maritime shipping to the transloading operations and freight handling operations carried out and to deliveries of fish to the market, higher than provided for in the plans. The discussion centered on the role and tasks of primary party organizations and maritime economy enterprises themselves in the country's current position and economic situation. There were talks about the need for cooperation between all social factors in dealing with and solving problems of work places, particularly controversial issues.

BRIEFS

'SOLIDARITY' SHIP NAMING--The workers' committee of the independent, self-governing trade union at the Polish steamship company in Szczecin put forward a proposal to name one of the ships belonging to the company, NS Solidarity. The proposal was accepted and it has been decided that the name NS Solidarity will be given to a bulk cargo ship with a capacity of 33,500 tons which will be built in the Adolf Warski shipyards. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 81 LD]

BAJALSKI REPORTS SOVIET REACTION TO POLISH EVENTS

AU121537 [Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 9 January on pages 1 and 2 carries a 750-word report by its permanent correspondent R. Bajalski from Moscow on Soviet press reporting on the situation in Poland, noting that, according to the Soviet press, "the situation in Poland is characterized more by signs of tension than by reconstruction measures" and that this impression has probably been gained "because the press has begun to devote greater attention to the activity of an insignificant minority in the allied country." That minority is known under the collective name of "antisocialist forces."

Bajalski also notes that, in reporting the situation in Poland, the Moscow press "for the first time used--within the context of Polish events--certain unpleasant expressions, such as 'anti-Soviet forces' and 'healthy forces.'" He says that the first term was used in a TASS report from Warsaw reporting on the session of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society in Warsaw, while the second term was used by PRAVDA in its commentary entitled "The Leaking Boat" dealing with the interview that Polish dissident Adam Michnik granted to DER SPIEGEL of Hamburg.

It is quite clear that the Poles are not in Michnik's "boat," Bajalski says, and that for this reason it is irrevelant whether the "boat" has sprung a "leak." "It is also clear that the country's workers class led by the PZPR decides about Poland's destiny. This is the great and the strongest force of the Polish society. The term 'healthy forces,' we would say, evokes unpleasant associations because in the past it was used to identify certain smaller groups which themselves had never done anything."

Bajalski also reports on LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's reportage by its London correspondent on a visit to the London villa in which the "Polish government in exile" meets.

HOFFMANN, CPCZ AGRICULTURAL DELEGATION ARRIVE

LD122042 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1701 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jan, (TANJUG)--A study delegation of the CPCZ led by Zdenek Hoffmann, deputy head of the agricultural department of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived in Belgrade today. The visit by the members of the delegation will be within the framework of the program of cooperation between the LCY and the CPCZ and will be briefed on the experience and results in agriculture and food industry. The study delegation of the CPCZ was welcomed by Blagoje Boskovic, assistant executive secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, who also held opening talks with the delegation.

RETAIL PRICES ROSE BY 30 PERCENT LAST YEAR

AU122020 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Retail prices last year increased 30 percent in comparison with the average for the year before last. According to a release by the Federal Institute for Statistics, the decisive influence on the high increase in retail prices was exerted by the price increases of agricultural produce, manufactured goods, services and food products.

All in all, life in December was 51.2 percent more expensive than the average for the year before last.

Other market news: A further slowdown of the economy as well as significant changes in the structure of (?supply) and demand and strong inflationary pressure are to be expected in the first 6 months of this year. However, one need not fear that the industry will remain without work; but this does not mean there will be no difficulties in the supply of raw materials and production materials.

That was stated by Petrasin Petrasinovic, director of the Market Research Institute, at a press conference in the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy.

DOLANC DISCUSSES ECONOMY IN DELO INTERVIEW

AU122021 [Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 31 December on pages 14-16 carries an 11,000-word interview with Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The place and the date of the interview are not given. The interviewers are Jak Koprivc, Boris Dolnicar, Lojze Javornik and Vlado Slamberger. Slamberger prepared the interview for publication.

Asked about the sociopolitical and economic situation in the SFRY, Dolanc says he does not agree that the "original sin" of economic difficulties is neglect of the self-managing social relations. "The original sin is like any sin, to use a term I do not like. In my opinion the original sin began with us and it consists of the terrific striving for development which arose in the people--when they began to live and feel the new system, their freedom and the opportunities they have in the system of socialist self-management--as well as among the communists and also in the League of Communists." The rapid economic growth and "the terrific increase in consumption" could not be matched by increased production, but led to inflation and heavy borrowing abroad. In 1945 Yugoslavia started from total destruction followed by "the period of the Cominform, when we suffered a terrific economic blow, for we were blocked on all sides and we had no bread and no clothing, nothing." Countries in the West and in the East obtained aid, "but we were alone and everything we achieved we did with our own forces. Afterwards, after the terrific tightening of the belt, there followed a period of development, when people began to feel that--while they work and create--they must also live and that they could live a better and nicer life. What we now have began then."

Dolanc says he is not against state intervention if it is "within the complex of developing self-managing relations in general." He agrees with the suggestion that it is "an innovation in our political life that we began to speak frankly about all these things." Dolanc says "the plurality of interests exists" and it was decided that accords and agreements are the only way to overcome conflicts. "We must constantly search for the interest which at a given moment is really most justified for Yugoslavia as a whole, economically and politically. I think that it is easy to determine. The common interest now is clear: stabilization of the economy and everything that it implies, including the consequences."

The interviewers ask if it has really been realized that everything must be subordinated to the stabilization policy, and Dolanc replies: "I will give you an example: We never agreed on the 5-year plan as quickly--I will not say as easily--as this year.

"DELO: Without political pressures and fears?

"Dolanc: Without particular political pressures. I will not say that there has been no reaction of one kind or another, but for a long time, since new Yugoslavia has existed, we have not found a common language so quickly. This shows that a turning point has been reached in the consciousness of people. We have sobered up and realized that we cannot continue in the old way; if we have succeeded in anything, we have succeeded during these months of stabilization in changing the people's behavior considerably--I will not say completely."

Dolanc mentions the world economic crisis and the oil problem and says that the 3-percent Yugoslav growth planned, which compares favorably with other European countries, is realistic, but many local development wishes had to be cut to a realistic proportion. He praises the success in reducing the Yugoslav foreign trade deficit by $2 billion this year.

Discussing the standard of living, Dolanc says that he is among the top paid officials, "although our incomes in comparison with others occupy a place between the 800th and 900th on a ranking list in Yugoslavia. We, too, feel what has happened in our market. Now I pay about one-third of my salary, perhaps even more, for a residence, heating, electricity and water. But it is true, I do not feel this as much as someone earning 5,000 or 6,000 dinar [a month]." Dolanc adds that domestic demand is nevertheless bouyant, unemployment is low and it is difficult to get anyone to do heavy work. Among those unemployed are many who refuse to work and many women whose husbands are employed. Another problem, according to Dolanc, is the constantly growing administrative apparatus, which must be cut, and productive work which must be better remunerated to stop the drift into administrative jobs.

Speaking about the delegate system, Dolanc says he recently lost his temper when four or five directors at a meeting complained about the Federal Executive Council refusing to free textile prices, but none of them thought he should broach the price problem through the delegation in the Associated Labor Chamber of the Assembly. Dolanc declares: "Unless political and delegate work comes to life at the grassroots, it will not come to life in the SFRY Assembly or the republican assemblies. Therefore such importance attaches to political work in associated labor organizations, in local communities, in the basic organizations of the League of Communists, the trade unions, the SAWP and so forth." A delegate must carry things through. "As regards responsibility, we must comprehend that to replace an incapable or unsuitable man is not a scandal, but that it is normal that he who is not capable and who does not master his tasks leaves his position."

Dolanc says that at the federal level in the SFRY many people frequently face a dilemma in deciding between the republican and the common Yugoslav interest. It would be "normal to decide for the common interest," but it is not easy, "first, because a man is perhaps convinced that the common interest is not the right one and that the interest of the community from which he comes, the interest of his basis, is better; secondly, he may simply subordinate himself to the interest of his community without being convinced of it. This is opportunism or even something worse. Therefore it is often very easy to attack the federation and the federal organs, and it is more difficult to struggle in them for principles and for the common Yugoslav interest." As soon as a position is adopted "it is an attack on the integrity of Yugoslavia if someone continues to do the opposite. In such cases it is urgent to call to responsibility the one who does it."

The most responsible positions in the federation must be occupied by people "who will be able to perceive common Yugoslav interests and, on the other hand, will have spine, so that they will get into a dialogue even with their republic, their basis, and explain what is the point of the common interest," Dolanc says.

Speaking of common Yugoslav interests, Dolanc says further: "We must always look at the situation in Yugoslavia as a whole, not just in a single republic. Just as we struggle with problems in the republics which are more developed, so they also struggle with problems in the republics which are less developed. In the discussions of relations between the developed and the economically less developed, we must always bear in mind that it is a matter of two sides, both having responsibilities and obligations. In the self-managing society we will have to think out and to develop certain things thoroughly, both theoretically and practically."

In Dolanc's opinion, the basic premise is social ownership of the means of production, associated labor and past labor. This premise does not recognize republican or communal borders and "thoroughly changes the political relations among the republics." "Therefore we must always take into account the situation in Yugoslavia as a whole, as well as the political situation in other republics and provinces. We cannot only regard our own interest or our own political situation." The world economic and political crisis must also be taken into account, Dolanc says.

Dolanc thinks "there is no society in the world which criticizes itself more than we criticize ours. In this way we express our strength and we tell the people the truth about the position we are in." He is against destructive and general criticism and declares that "we must also take into account how a position or a statement will be interpreted in the world." In this connection he stresses: "We strongly adhere to principles in our non-aligned policy. The positions that we took on crisis events this year, lastly in the Iraq-Iran dispute, were based on principles, even though it was very difficult considering the relations we have with the two countries."

Talking about the internal political situation, Dolanc says that "this year we have had considerably fewer work stoppages than last year, and this year we have considerably less political crime. Nothing happened in our country this year that shows that the political situation has deteriorated. I do not state that things could not change if the economic trend is again reversed and supplies deteriorate. But I have a confirmation, not just a feeling, that supplies are much better than they were." He is in favor of "identifying the one that is responsible for supply problems, although it will not be easy, considering our habits." Edible-oil shortages may continue next year. The shortages of medicines "deserves the widest social condemnation," particularly as the reasons are "subjective in nature."

The interview then deals with the question of responsibility and Dolanc again stresses the importance of political work at the grassroots. He thinks that there are too many administrative regulations and they are couched in such language that they are "insufficiently understandable and inaccessible to the working man and self-manager."

Asked about cooperation between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Slovenia, Dolanc says that "it is a great step forward and certainly causes optimism. Many political problems will be eliminated in that way. There will be links in the cultural field, in the field of information, in the life of the people.

"Our people decided in a plebiscite-like fashion for this Yugoslav community out of national and social reasons. Based on equal foundations, no other Yugoslav people or nationality has any other prospect but socialist, self-managing, independent Yugoslavia. People have confirmed that this is so." Dolanc adds: "One of the reasons for the present political situation is the fact that people believe their life is possible only in the Yugoslav socialist self-managing community. Therefore we must strengthen the economic basis, renounce partial strategies and draw them together into a common unified strategy of Yugoslav economic development in the present circumstances. At this moment, in the time in which we live, stabilization takes the prideful place. This past month I was in Serbia, Bosnia and Slovenia. I heard the same problems and wishes everywhere, but also the same readiness for cooperation and the same worries. Sometimes you become a much greater optimist from a work organization than from a political meeting." Political workers therefore "should rotate more quickly, but they should also be among the people as much as possible."

Dolanc declares that "all democracy depends on how much a worker truly decides on the surplus value that he creates." He does not "deny the values of classic achievements of democracy," but in "the countries that count as democratic," there has been "almost no progress made since the transition from feudalism to capitalism." Some countries had more democracy 100 or 150 years ago than now. "Capital, lobbies and multinational companies now hold democracy in their hands."

Dolanc continues: "Some individuals, some groups say that there is no democracy in our country and that they will be able to speak the truth about our society only through their magazines in which they will express real strivings for democracy. Such groups and individuals have appeared recently in capitals of some of our republics. We must certainly make a distinction between them and it would not be correct to sweep them all together. I do not want to say that we have enough dialogue on most varied social problems or that we always and everywhere display enough latitude on individual critical opinions.

In any case, many of these people have never contributed anything to the development of true democracy and true freedom. It is interesting that these people and little groups try to establish ties, that some of them have no scruples about ties with the most reactionary circles abroad, that they seek their public chiefly abroad and that they say that they cannot express their democratic strivings anywhere in our country.

"Almost all who strive for so-called greater democracy in this way are tied to certain opposition groups abroad--Chetnik and Ustasha--and I do not know whether they really want a 'democracy' of knives, slaughter and shooting. Do they realize what links with fascist emigres means? How does a person dare to write in our country that there is no democracy in Yugoslavia, when he at the same time maintains direct contacts with the Chetnik or Ustasha emigres? Who will accept such a concept of democracy?

"It must also be said that the signatories of these demands include many people who have not grasped what is really at stake; there are many among them who have signed various papers for the sake of principles that they think are humane and democratic. If they knew what was at stake, they probably would not have been taken in. This is also our fault, for we do not conduct enough dialogue, we do not talk with others enough and exchange views. The SAWP must play a more significant role in this respect than it has played thus far."

Dolanc says that such people do not say what they mean by self-management, which they invoke. "From what they have written I discern that they imagine a monopoly of an intellectual elite which should conduct policy in this country. But they do not speak about the essence of self-management, the position of the worker, productivity and remuneration. They do not touch on those problems. Nothing is said about it in any of the platforms for new magazines that I have read. It is a verbal war. I wonder how much workers would understand if they read what these people want."

Dolanc admits that some problems appear because the public has not been sufficiently informed, but he asserts that Yugoslav society can be advantageously compared with any other society. "Sometimes we really think that the whole world writes only about Djilas or the Belgrade professors. In fact they are matters which few people in the world know about and which are exploited really only by those who have a good measure of hostile attitude toward Yugoslavia; they are primarily the emigre organizations. The people who establish ties with them are not sufficiently aware of this. An exception, of course, are those who have sold out to the Chetniks, Ustashas or the White Guards and who have lost all contact with reality.

"DELO: One should say to such people what they deserve and measures should also be taken against them.

"Dolanc: Yes, people are already asking questions. If somebody gets drunk in an inn and says something impermissible, perhaps he gets a few months imprisonment, although even this is often unnecessary. Somebody else can write and say and do all sorts of things and nobody takes any measures against him. In such cases people are asking with justification why that is so."

Asked about brotherhood and unity, Dolanc says that the basic problem is that of economics. "If we succeed in creating economic relations in Yugoslavia of a quality that will ensure equal development to all the developed and underdeveloped regions--the fastest development of Kosovo must be particularly stressed in this connection--I am convinced that it will be the brotherhood and unity that has firm political roots in the revolutionary struggle before the war, in the national liberation struggle and the revolution, and in the postwar period."

The interviewers suggest that some people think the development of underdeveloped regions was too slow. Dolanc replies: "I am thinking primarily of Kosovo and Kosovo alone. The reasons for it are something else. Most certainly we must not search for them exclusively outside of Kosovo, for all the republics and the Province of Vojvodina have carried out their obligations toward Kosovo. We must all think about all the problems and the problems of all."

Dolanc is asked whether he feels that the common Yugoslav interest is sometimes "exploited for daily, short term aims," as "every minor sports event" is labeled common interest and "every little remark about a specific step in another area is likely to be classed as an attack on the common interest."

Dolanc replies: "This term became familiar some time ago. The 'interest of the wider social community' immediately begins to be stressed when any problems arise in one community or another. Egoistic, partial interests of one community often hide behind the term. But we have come so far that the so-called common interest comes into confrontation with other interests--economically, if not politically--and it is quickly established that the common interest is only a partial one. Such matters are frankly discussed in the Assembly and the executive organs, not to say especially in the League of Communists. I think that we should discuss it more in the SAWP.

"DELO: Even though such labels disqualify people in advance.

"Dolanc: This, too, is a problem of our political life. Many disqualifications and labeling, which this year again was occasionally expressed in our political life, most certainly do more harm than good precisely to the Yugoslav community. Look, this year we had difficult and serious discussions about fundamental matters, for instance the constitutional amendments. Labels were being affixed in the discussion and there were many bilious discussions, but we eventually found a common language. I think it is a great thing, but it is also a great thing that we have found out that we could find a common language much more quickly without labels and disqualifications. In this democratic political dialogue in our society, which is an integral part of self-managing life, we will have to get used to dealing with certain things in a cultured, politically correct and tolerant way and to solving them in the given time and place. I am resolutely against any labels and disqualifications."

Speaking about the losses of Kardelj and Tito, Dolanc says: "The collective leadership most certainly has a new quality now. We have taken a great step forward in the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Presidium. I mean it sincerely. I think that there is no struggle for power in any forum in Yugoslavia, as some opposition organizations abroad and also some individuals have expected. I think it is a great thing that the spirit of collective leadership has really come to life in the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Presidium, to mention those two organs only. The manner and the method of work made it possible for each of us who are in these forums to work creatively and freely and to have a truly democratic exchange of views, if necessary even five or six times about all matters, until we see them from all the aspects and find a common solution.

"We solved all the matters put before us this year in a democratic manner. In conclusion we were united, regardless of what was the course of the debate and how difficult it appeared in the beginning. Another quality of this leadership is that we are all united in our basic ideological and political positions. We find a common language and we have never found it as quickly as this year. This is a great thing which is developing. There is no indication that any serious differences could appear in the basic positions, including the economic field, and not just at the political starting points," Dolanc says.

In conclusion Dolanc says that the task for 1981 will be more responsibility and discipline at all levels. By June 1982, 27 congresses will have to have been held, nine each in the League of Communists, the trade unions and the veterans federation. He says that it has been agreed to cut the congresses as much as possible and to arrange them so that "as little working time as possible will be lost."

DOLANC CRITICIZES ATTITUDE AT NOVO MESTO CAR PLANT

LD122028 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Excerpts] Novo Mesto, 12 Jan (TANJUG)--Stane Dolanc and Dobroslav Culafic, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, visited the motor vehicle plant in Novo Mesto today and were acquainted with the development of the factory in which about 6,500 permanent employees pool their labor. They were also briefed on previous and current investments and on the plant's planned expansion in the medium-term period up to 1985. Dolanc and Culafic were particularly interested in the structure of plant investments, of which as much as 65 percent is represented by credit resources, mainly from abroad, while the work organization itself has supplied only 1 percent. Dolanc expressed his belief that no stabilization policy in the world could support such ambitions as the car production plant of Novo Mesto has given itself, particularly when the average personal income of those employed at the plant is considerably less than the average for Slovenia.

Criticizing the plant's attitude toward domestic buyers, Stane Dolanc judged such business activity as alien to Yugoslavia. At the same time he raised the question of why payments for cars were accepted when it was well-known that the plant would not be able to carry out the greater part of its obligations. This blackens the name of the collective and the work organization, which is responsible for a real economic revolution and exceptional progress in the once poor region of Dolenjska. That is why, as was emphasized in the conversation, we must bring ourselves into the limits of realistic possibilities and potential and resolutely break down narrow regional interests and search for a solution to difficulties in increasingly broader agreement-making. For if everyone were to work in a way that he considered best and to his advantage then it is clear that instead of going forward we would be marking time, Stane Dolanc said.

LJUBICIC HOLDS MEETING FOR RETIRED OFFICERS

LD121930 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jan (TANJUG)--Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, arranged a comradely meeting at the Belgrade Army Club today for his closest associates, generals and admirals whose active service in the armed forces ceased on 31 December 1980.

Greeting those present, the federal secretary stressed among other things that the liberation war and socialist revolution launched by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia led by Comrade Tito has been a great and inexhaustible source of encouragement and proof that there is no encirclement one cannot get out of and no obstacle which cannot be overcome.

Addressing and paying tribute to comrades whose active service has ceased, General Ljubicic said that they devoted the greater part of their life and active work to the party, the interests of the working class, the struggle for the freedom of our peoples, to efforts for building a self-managing socialist society and to our armed forces.

SLOVENIA COUNCIL DEBATES PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY

LD122046 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Jan (TANJUG)--The main debate at the session today of the Council for International Relations of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was on the Yugoslav information and propaganda activity directed at foreign countries. It was stressed that this activity has not been adequately coordinated and that it has been inefficient. For this reason, a greater degree of organization and coordination of all factors operating in this area should be brought about, only in this way will it be possible to react to specific manifestations and events both in at home and abroad quickly and efficiently.

The information and propaganda activity for abroad, it was said, should not be the responsibility of the appropriate state organs alone; all social factors operating in the international relations arena should be equipped to take part in it. This applies especially to scientific and cultural institutions, which to date have not been adequately included in information and propaganda activity.

BRIEFS

TRADE OFFICIAL DIES--Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG)--Slavko Baum, general director of the Fund for Credit and Insurance of Export Affairs, died suddenly in Belgrade this morning. Born in 1919 in Zagreb, Slavko Baum was actively involved in the capital construction of the SFRY chemical industry, and in 1964 was appointed assistant federal secretary for foreign trade. In 1967 he was appointed chairman of the Yugoslav commission for the chemical industry in CEMA, and was a member of the Federal Executive Council Commission for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, a member of the Federal Commission for Economic Relations With Developing Countries, and a member of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber Council for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries. He was actively involved in establishing the African Development Fund, in which he was deputy governor for the SFRY. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 7 Jan 81 LD]